uly 1974

The Book the CIA Tried to Suppress; Report from Saigon; Health Insurance Hoax; Vonnegut on Writing; Gasoline Guide/$1

Ramparts®

BLACK HAWK COLLEGE

<D61265BAC60038069 74AUG 3N
BLACK HAWK COLLEGE
LEARNING RESOURCES CTR
6600 34TH AVENUE
MOLINE ILL 61265

Why Nothing Works

The U.S. as an Underdeveloped Country

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quad... Before you buy demand these answers.

If you've been reading the ads on quadraphonic, you're probably aware that most manufacturers claim 'total capability' for their receivers. However, total capability means different things to each manufacturer.

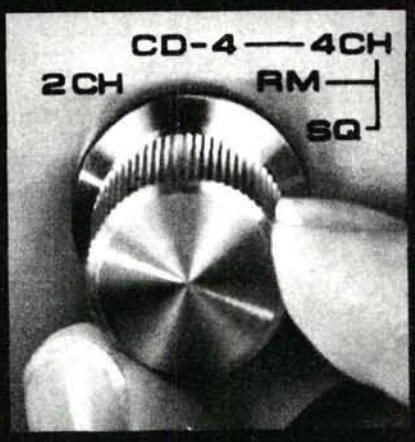
How, then, you may ask, can you be certain you're actually getting total quadraphonic capability. Simple. Before you buy demand these answers.

1. Does this quad receiver have *built-in* circuitry to play CD-4 discrete records from Warner, Atlantic, Elektra and RCA?

2. Does this quad receiver play Columbia, Capitol, Epic and Vanguard SQ matrix four-channel records?

3. Does this quad receiver play the RM matrix records of A&M and Ode?

4. Does this quad receiver play



two-channel stereo records, tapes and FM flawlessly, with boosted power from its quadraphonic limits?

If the answer you receive isn't a resounding "yes" to all these questions — then you're not talking to a Pioneer dealer.

Pioneer is the only full line of quadraphonic receivers that reproduces every four-channel program source (CD-4, SQ, RM, discrete) and every record label — without adaptors, add-on decoders or demodulators.

QX-949 — $749.95; QX-747 — $649.95; QX-646 — $499.95. Prices include walnut cabinets.

U.S. Pioneer Electronics Corp., 75 Oxford Drive, Moonachie, New Jersey 07074
West: 13300 S. Estrella, Los Angeles 90248 / Midwest: 1500 Greenleaf, Elk Grove Village, Ill. 60007 / Canada: S. H. Parker Co.

PIONEER®
when you want something better

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ramparts

Volume 12, No. 12 July 1974

EDITORIAL BOARD
Elliot Kanter
David Kolodney
Patricia Shell
Peter Stone

EDITORIAL STAFF
Peggy Golden
Marina Hirsch

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
David Obst
Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Tom Zeman

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Andrew Kopkind
David Landau
Michael P. Lerner
James Ridgeway
Derek Shearer

ART STAFF
Diane Coleman — Art Director
Daniel Hunter
Ta Ta Chook

BUSINESS STAFF
Peter Stone—Advertising Director
Don MaGuire
Randy Fingland—Circulation Manager
Anne Matlack
Bruce Stilson—General Counsel
Guy W. Shoup—Special Counsel
Norman Eisner—Publishing Consultant

EDITORIAL ROOMS AND MAIN BUSINESS OFFICE
2054 University Avenue
Berkeley, California 94704

Telephone: Area Code 415
Subscription 845-8859
Business 845-8807
Editorial 845-8871

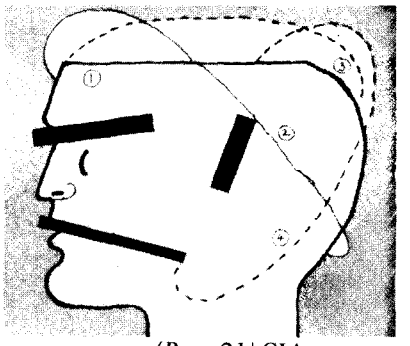
NEW YORK ADVERTISING
Telephone: (212) 986-8993

Contents Copyright © 1974
by Noah's Ark, Inc.
Marca Registrada

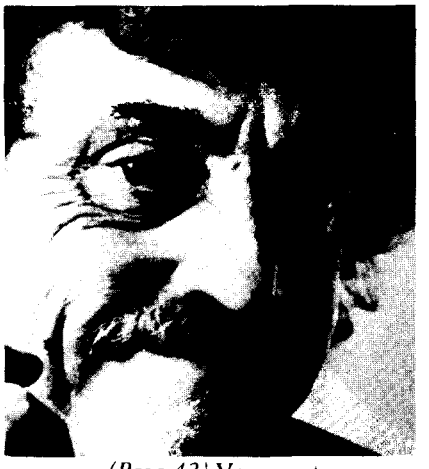
All rights reserved.

RAMPARTS is published monthly by Noah's Ark, Inc. Printed in the U.S.A. Second class postage is paid at Berkeley, California and at additional offices. Indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature and Alternative Press Index. Microfilm back volumes available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. SUBSCRIPTION RATES: $11.00, one year; $21.00, two years, $30.00, three years in U.S.A. Foreign rate: $13.00, one year; $22.00, two years. Airmail rate: USA, Mexico, Canada, $18.50 per year. Europe, South and Central America, $22.50 per year; rest of world, $27.50 per year. Single issue $1.00. Inquire for prices of back issues and bulk orders. SUBSCRIPTION CORRESPONDENCE: Send both new and old address (enclose recent magazine address label, if possible). Please allow six weeks for new orders and address changes. Request for missing issues older than two months from current date will be honored only when accompanied by payment. MANUSCRIPTS: Include a stamped, self-addressed envelope. RAMPARTS editors assume no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

(Page 6) Gasoline



(Page 21) CIA



(Page 43) Vonnegut

Herein:

4 LETTERS

6 EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT GASOLINE
by Tom Zeman

12 JOHN TUNNEY: HIS FATHER WAS A HEAVYWEIGHT
by George Baker

17 REPORT FROM SAIGON: AN ECONOMY NEAR COLLAPSE
by William Shawcross

21 INSIDE THE CIA: THE CLANDESTINE MENTALITY
by Victor Marchetti and John Marks

26 NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE: THE CARE AND FEEDING OF MEDI-BUSINESS
by Ronda Kotelchuck and Thomas Bodenheimer

29 THE U.S. ECONOMY:
I. THE DEATH OF AN ILLUSION
by Terence McCarthy

II. THE WAY THINGS (DON'T) WORK
by Seymour Melman

III. ONE MODEST PROPOSAL

43 ". . . BUT WORDS CAN NEVER HURT ME"
by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

45 RACIST CHIC: RETURN OF THE KLANSMAN
by Robert Chrisman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

[A JUNE VALENTINE]

Editors:

For the first time in almost seven years, you have rung the bell. For my files, I have saved "Campaign Reform," "One Who Got Away," "GM and the Nazis," "Lockheed," "Solzhenitsyn" and "Gulag Archipelago." Some past issues had one or two articles worth saving, but nothing like the June 1974 issue.

J. Harland Knauss
Culver City, Calif.

[EUROPE'S MIGRANTS]

Editors:

Thanks to you and Schofield Coryell for his article on Europe's new subproletariat [*Ramparts,* March, 1974]. The big dream of Europe's immigrant workers (or better: recruited foreign workers), their hopes and wishes in contrast to their real situation—you've hit the mark.

Richard Koelble
Bonn, West Germany

[THE MAP THAT FAILED]

Editors:

I am writing this to express my shock and indignation at the map of Asia which appears in your issue of May 1974 (pg. 36). The map shows the entire INDIAN state of Jammu and Kashmir as a part of Pakistan, which is nothing but a vulgar display of pro-Pakistan sentiment. Agreeing that the Americans have always been infatuated by Pakistan, one would at best have expected the map to indicate Kashmir as a disputed region or include a cease-fire line. I am sure even Pakistan would not dare to publish such a map.

There are two other glaring mistakes. Bangladesh, largely distorted, has been shown to be a part of Pakistan. May I remind you that even Pakistan has now recognized the independence of Bangladesh. Lastly, may I add that Ceylon is now called Sri Lanka.

V. Laxmanan
Cambridge, Mass.

Editors Note: The map was, indeed, mistaken, and we apologize to the nations and people it may have offended. No political prejudices were involved—only an overworked artist and a four-year-old atlas.

[A FRIEND IN NEED]

Editors:

Sometimes those of us on the American Left, so much more aware of our defeats than our considerable victories, tend to forget the very real institutional successes that have emerged from the Sixties. One of these, one that has probably touched all of us, is Liberation News Service, still going strong in New York after nearly seven years of continuous publication, still putting out the packets that reach a million people or so every week, still providing us with our best antidote to the palliative pap of the AP.

But LNS, which has always shared the financial precariousness of Movement organizations, is now facing a critical money crunch, this time rather more serious than in the past. The folks there tell me that their rent has gone up $225 per month in the last two years, gas and electricity up $30 a month, paper prices up by $2000 a year, postage rates up by 20 percent, and in order to eat they have even had to go to the scandalous lengths of raising their salaries to a munificent $40 a week (which works out to about 75 cents an hour, they figure).

At the same time, the money isn't coming in the way it should be, with many of the 450 or so subscribers also feeling the inflationary bind (they're Movement outfits, too, for the most part), so the income amounts to less than two-thirds of what's needed, and they figure to be $25,000 short of their bedrock needs this year.

It would be good if every Movement organization, whether or not it puts out a publication, could subscribe to LNS and thereby keep in touch with what's happening in the land, and that can be done for $20 a month or $240 a year (or less, if necessary: they're not sticky people). But for groups that can't afford that, and for individuals who want to simply see LNS continue, a dollar or two right now would be enough. If everyone who reads this magazine sent just that much, LNS would be able to survive, and thrive. Think about it.

Their address: 160 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027.

Kirkpatrick Sale
New York, N.Y.

[BERRIGAN AND ISRAEL]

Editors:

With friends like Paul Jacobs ("Daniel Berrigan: Some of His Best Friends *Were* . . .", April 1974), I'm not sure that Dan Berrigan needs enemies. Jacobs is correct, of course, in defending Berrigan against the absurd, indeed, obscene charges of anti-semitism hurled at him by Zionists. Yet Jacobs bends over so far backward to explain his *own* disagreement with Berrigan that the defense becomes almost pointless.

What Berrigan *did* say (one would never know this from reading Jacobs) was that Israel *and the existing Arab regimes* have become oppressor states, abusing and perverting the dream of national liberation; that they have become courtiers for favor in the palace of imperialism; and that their interests and aims are totally at odds with those of the great mass of workers and farmers, Arab and Jewish, in the Middle East. Berrigan criticized Israel especially severely because the United States maintains the present Israeli regime, and because the conflict between principles and practice is particularly dramatic in Israel's case. This is, if you like, a "good guy, bad guy" analysis—the good guys are exploited classes and the bad guys are ruling classes—and it is essentially correct.

Therefore, attempts to portray Berrigan as anti-semitic (Michael Novak), "morally imperialistic" (Paul Cowan), or even just simplistic (Paul Jacobs) reflect an unwillingness to deal with the hard issues raised by his Washington speech. Contrary to Jacobs' assertion that what he calls "the Yom Kippur War" "stirred up in the Jews, at least, the ancient fear of the pogrom. . . ," the war revealed to many Jews, both in America and in Israel, the impossibility of securing the Jewish community in the Middle East via continued use of colonial-settler tactics. The charge of anti-semitism (which where applied to Jewish dissenters, becomes an accusation against "self-hating Jews") is a form of intellectual terrorism designed to keep our heads separated from our hearts. Dan Berrigan is struggling with both head and heart for revolutionary justice in the Middle East.

Richard E. Rubenstein
Chicago, Ill.

[SLA AND THE LEFT]

Editors:

Regarding your thinkpiece on the S.L.A.: Just between us two, I thought that the background on Nancy Ling Perry was good. And the pictures. The rest was so much backing and filling. You worry too much. And at too great a length.

As to that "moral community of hope," that really stops me. What can I say? That I would rather have an "immoral community of results"? Or that we can use a few martyrs? I figure that what I am seeing is what I am getting. I didn't ask them to do it, and you didn't, either. It's just a mind blower. It's kind of like shooting the Czar. It creates all kinds of commotion.

H. W. Cone
Sacramento, CA.

Editors:

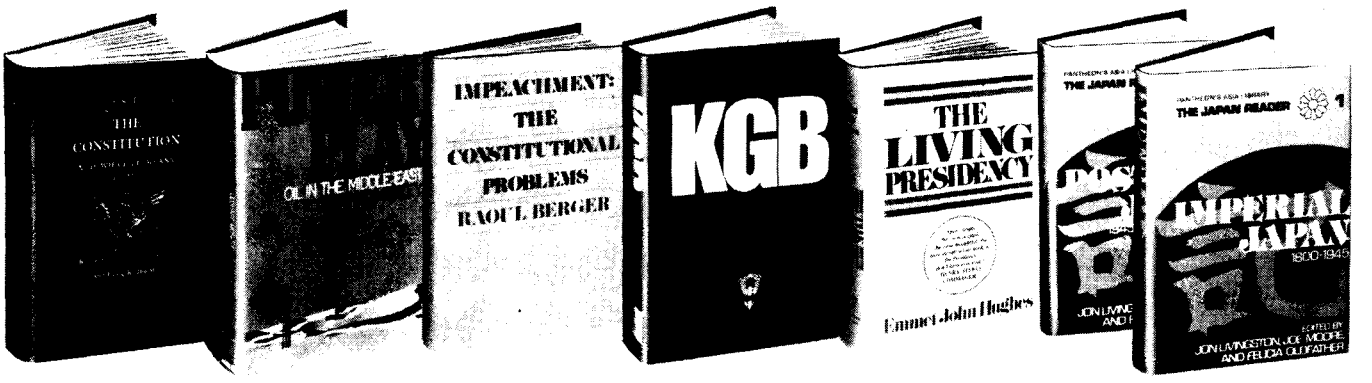
We—98% of the other prisoners here, and myself—think *Ramparts* has *sold out* to the Hearst empire—to the Amerikan Gestapo, and are likewise in collusion with the *other* rightwing media—when your editorial "story," "Terrorism and the Left" (pages 21-29) defecated the otherwise beautiful reportage of *Ramparts* pages.

Christ-al-mighty, are *you too* sellin' out to fascist/corporate propaganda? Are *you* quotin' from cripple-minded stool pigeons, who've spilled *their* guts to the super-pigs?

If you'd get your heads outa your asses, and take a look around you, you'd *see* those young men and women are *done* with "bull-

(Continued on page 57)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Constitution • The Presidency • Impeachment • Official terrorism • Oil • The not-so-inscrutable East • All in

The Library of Political Affairs

Fascinating, thoughtful, shocking. These are the books you must read to understand the world you're living in *now*. Important books. Essential books. And all at substantial discounts!

(Retail prices shown)

21671. IMPEACHMENT: The Constitutional Problems. *Raoul Berger.* Sets the record straight: what is impeachable, who is the final arbiter in impeaching high officials, does impeachment threaten the separation of powers? Exciting, clarifying and essential reading. **$14.95**

69621. POWER PLAY: Oil in the Middle East. *Leonard Mosley.* A vivid, authoritative exposé of the maneuverings, intrigues and struggles between oil-rich sheiks and concessionaires and the world's largest governments. **$10.00**

50590. GREAT ISSUES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. *Morton Kaplan.* An indispensable sourcebook on the practical problems of international relations. An illuminating fresh response to the new problems and prospects of world politics. **$17.50**

58681. THE LIVING PRESIDENCY. *Emmet John Hughes.* A great political thinker tackles the long-shrouded mysteries of our highest office. A brilliant analysis of the resources, dilemmas, and limits of a President's power. "The book of the decade on the Presidency."—*Clayton Fritchey.* **$10.50**

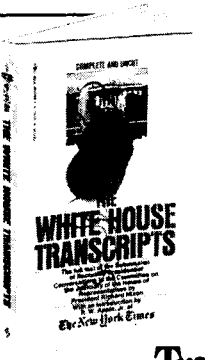
20910. THE CONSTITUTION AND WHAT IT MEANS TODAY. 13th Edition. *Edward S. Corwin. The* standard reference on all aspects of constitutional law, now up-dated to keep pace with recent Court decisions — including the 1972-73 term. *Counts as 2 of your 3 choices.* **$20.00**

48501. FIFTY YEARS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. *Edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong.* Outstanding essays by statesmen and leading intellectuals — such as W. E. B. DuBois, Henry Kissinger, Benedetto Croce, Margaret Mead, and others. **$12.50**

32550. THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS. *Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews.* Indispensable reference guide to Congress, with the careers, committees, power bases of the members, much more. Newly revised and updated. **$15.00**

80000. STALIN: The Man and His Era. *Adam B. Ulam.* This definitive portrait of the Soviet dictator is indispensable to an understanding of Russia today. "This is a brilliant biography of an authentic Superman whose voice is still heard from the grave."—*John Barkham.* **$12.95**

56951. THE JAPAN READER. Vol. I: IMPERIAL JAPAN 1800-1945 / Vol. II: POSTWAR JAPAN 1945 to the Present. *Edited by Jon Livingston, Joe Moore and Felicia Oldfather.* A magnificent panorama of Japan's politics and society from late feudal times to the present. *Counts as 2 of your 3 books.* **$30.00**



FREE if you act now!

The White House Transcripts

The full text of Nixon's explosive Watergate conversations, as submitted to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives. 896 pages of incredible reading — an indispensable reference, complete with introductory summaries and backgrounds to each of the 49 segments, a who's who of names appearing in the transcript, and an exclusive chronology of Watergate-related events from January 1969 to May 2, 1974. Paperbound. A $2.50 value.

Take any 3 books (values to $47.50) for only $1 each

if you join now and agree to accept only 3 more books—all at member discount—over the next 12 months.

HOW THE CLUB OPERATES

• The Book Club **News,** describing the coming Main Selection and Alternate Selections, will be sent to you 15 times a year at three to four week intervals. • If you wish to purchase the Main Selection, do nothing and it will be shipped to you automatically. • If you prefer one of the Alternates, or no book at all, simply indicate your decision on the reply form always enclosed with the **News** and mail it so we receive it by the date specified. • The **News** is mailed in time to allow you at least 10 days to decide if you want the coming Main Selection. If, because of late mail delivery of the **News,** you should ever receive a Main Selection without having had the 10-day consideration period, that Selection may be returned at Club expense. • After completing your trial membership, you will be entitled to take advantage of our fabulous bonus plan.

77600. SECRECY AND FOREIGN POLICY. *Edited by Thomas M. Franck and Edward Weisband.* Probes the delicate balance between a democracy's need for a free flow of information and its insistence on cloak-and-dagger secrecy. **$15.00**

32445. AN AGE OF MEDIOCRITY. *C. L. Sulzberger.* One of the most informative books on foreign affairs of the decade — passionate, brutal, sometimes scandalous — by the man who has talked candidly to just about every head of state in the last twenty years. **$12.95**

63130. THE MORAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MAHATMA GANDHI. *Raghavan Iyer.* Presents his theory of politics, his conflict with Western civilization, his theory of man, his concepts of non-violence, truth and self-reliance, and his personal creed. Essential to understanding the relationship — or lack of it — between East and West. **$12.50**

84800. THE TRUTH ABOUT KENT STATE: A Challenge to the American Conscience. *Peter Davies.* Devastating and timely account of the tragic shooting of dissident students — and the lack of response by the Justice Department. **$10.00**

57065. KGB: The Secret Work of Soviet Agents. *John Barron.* The first definitive study of the grisly bureaucratic eminence that is the principal instrument through which the Soviet Union is ruled. **$10.95**

42130. THE DEVIL AND JOHN FOSTER DULLES. *Townsend Hoopes.* The only full-scale political biography of one of our most important Secretaries of State — and a masterful study of his diplomacy. **$15.00**

79910. SPAIN UNDER FRANCO. *Max Gallo.* Spine-chilling story of the rise of the Franco dictatorship, the nightmare vacuity — and acuity — of the regime, and where it is headed. **$12.50**

The Library of Political Affairs F-18C
Riverside, New Jersey 08075

Please accept my application for membership and send me the three volumes indicated, billing me only $1.00 each. I agree to purchase at least three additional Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member, at special members' prices. Savings range up to 30% and occasionally even more. My membership is cancelable any time after I buy these three books. A shipping and handling charge is added to all shipments.

Send no money. Members are billed when books arrive.

Indicate by number the 3 books you want.

[ ] [ ] [ ]

(plus a FREE GIFT)

Some expensive books count as 2 selections.

Name_____

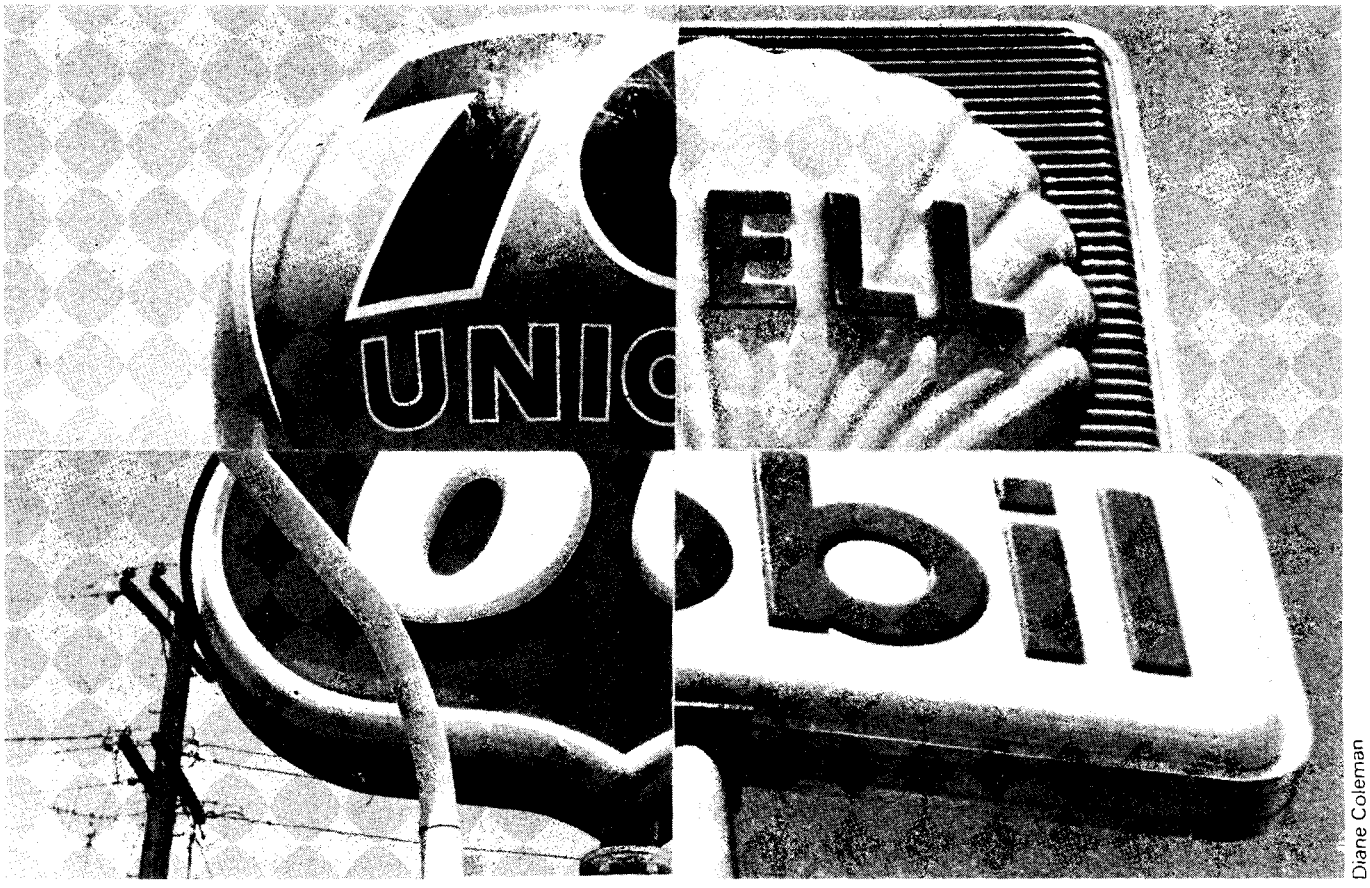
Address_____

City

State_____ Zip_____

(Offer good in Continental U.S. and Canada only. Prices slightly higher in Canada.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Diane Coleman

Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Gasoline*

Americans spend hundreds of dollars a year on gasoline, but very few people know what they are buying. You don't taste it or touch it, and you rarely see it. Do you know, for instance, what color gasoline is? It's naturally clear, but is dyed red, blue or amber to warn people of its toxicity (like the odor added to natural gas). "Gasoline stands at a technological distance from the consumer," explains Dr. Albert Fritsch of the Center for Science in the Public Interest. As a result, according to a 1972 survey, over half of all gasoline consumers overbuy gasoline. Americans waste $2 billion a year for a higher grade of gasoline than their car actually needs. Now more than ever, it is important for the consumer to know what gasoline and gasoline marketing is about, for today's astronomical prices are just part of a marketing revolution that is changing where and how you tank up your automobile. And, for the first time in 40 years, the composition of gasoline itself is undergoing an important change. You won't find the explanation for any of these events in the barrage of "educational" advertisements the oil industry has been aiming our way, and for a very good reason: it's not in their interest to tell you.

"Nobody really wants to buy gasoline. It is not a satisfying pleasure like a good meal, or a happy extravagance, like a new hat." That was how *Fortune* magazine summed up the oil companies' major difficulty in peddling the stuff back in 1969. Then the problems were different. Gas was cheap and plentiful and customers were lured with glassware giveaways, green stamps, and miraculous additives. Service stations were designed to look like country clubs, suburban homes, even Chinese temples. And for a time the carnival atmosphere, combined with the vague promises of better performance, worked.

At the same time it advertised TCP, Shell had quietly licensed 13 competing oil refiners to use the very same additive. Other brands used a slightly different additive, but it accomplished the same thing. One major company jocularly summed up the various claims by advertising that, "In every gallon of our gasoline, you get—four

**but the oil companies were afraid to tell you.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quarts." But the advertising strategy was effective. From 1960 to 1969 Shell, with its TCP promotion, climbed from sixth to second place in gasoline sales. Curiously, a 1972 survey for the Center for Science in the Public Interest showed that while 64 percent of TV viewers interviewed did not believe gasoline advertisements, 51 percent did prefer a particular brand of gasoline and thought it worked better than other brands.

The oil companies did not mind keeping the profit margins of their marketing divisions low while throwing money away on extravagant campaigns to win consumer loyalty. For the big money in the vertically integrated oil business was "upstream" in oil drilling. The oil depletion allowance and other tax breaks kept profits on that end of the business virtually tax-free. The name of the game was to retail at low profit and high volume in order to drill more. To that end, oil companies maintained expensive credit card systems to keep their name in the consumers' wallet while they vastly overbuilt gas stations to keep their name in the public eye. They even sold gasoline to their competitors, the independent retailers, to insure a greater volume of drilling and to keep refineries running at full capacity. That was, as one gas station trade magazine wistfully remembered, "the golden age of sales promotion." But now there are no more green stamps and glassware. And the signs which once boasted the lowest gasoline prices around are blank.

Why the change in policy? Simply, the carnival-like promotions stopped working. People began buying cheaper gasoline and, by 1972, non-major branded gasoline sales had captured a quarter of the retail market and were gaining rapidly. Even large department store chains such as Sears, Montgomery Ward and J. C. Penney started selling their own brands of gasoline at many of their outlets. One Exxon vice-president, amazed at the sudden growth of self-service stations, commented, "No one in this country would believe that an American woman would get out and put gasoline in her car." And the growing threat that Congress would repeal the oil import quota, which had been the major oil companies' most effective method of preventing independent refiners and retailers from gaining an unlimited source of crude, made the situation for the majors even more urgent.

[COUNTERATTACK]

In the short run, the oil "shortage" has proved very handy to the majors in their retailing jam. The buyer's market in gasoline suddenly became a seller's market. The major refineries no longer needed to sell their excess to the independent marketers. And whatever competition did exist among the majors came to a halt when *all* the oil companies were able to sell out their gasoline with no difficulty. In a few short months, retail prices doubled. Oil company advertisements stopped touting their gasoline additives and started apologizing for their obscene profits. Around 10 percent of the independent retailers were forced to close for lack of gasoline. Fill 'em Fast had to close or sell about 275 of its 600 stations last winter alone.

"Americans waste $2 billion a year for a higher grade of gasoline than their car actually needs."

National energy policy has been very helpful to the major oil companies. The price control regulations work in such a way that some crude oil is price-controlled, and some is not, in order to give the companies an "incentive" to drill more. The major companies have been selling the independent refiner a disproportionate share of the extremely high-priced uncontrolled oil. In addition, the independent refiners rely more on high-priced imported crude than do the majors. Since the independent retailers rely heavily on independent refineries for their gasoline, the independently-branded gas station is being forced to charge the consumer *more* than the major-branded station.

One Texas independent complained that he was paying 1½¢ more per gallon at the wholesale level than Exxon was charging on the retail level. In Bethesda, Maryland, another independent brander was selling gasoline at 19¢ more than the local Exxon station. At a closed-door meeting in New York last April, Federal Energy Office officials admitted that they expected prices at independent branded gasoline stations to be forced to charge 10¢ more per gallon than the major brands. Although the Emergency Petroleum Act directs the Federal Energy Administration to equitably distribute price as well as supply throughout the country (which would mean keeping prices of major and independent brands in line), Energy officials admit that they have no intention of enforcing the pricing clause. One shocked Pennsylvania state official reports that two high Federal Energy officials, Duke R. Ligon and Gerald Parsky, told him that they have "done nothing" to comply with the price distribution clause of the Emergency Petroleum Allocation Act because the Nixon Administration is "ideologically opposed" to price allocation.

With the oil industry's tax prerogatives for oil drilling under attack by Congress, the industry will probably do as much profit-taking on the retail end of the business as possible. The astounding pattern of gasoline price increases in the past few months indicate that last year's dollar-a-gallon prediction made by one major oil company's marketing vice president (six months *before* the Arab oil embargo began) is on the verge of coming true. As the price goes up, bear in mind that every penny of increased retail price costs consumers approximately $1 billion annually.

But the oil industry could not have anticipated the vigor of public anger at the crisis, which is seriously jeopardizing industry plans. No one could have anticipated that the President who was supposed to sell the energy crisis to the country as a national emergency would become more of a liability than an asset to the oil industry, or that the public would be listening harder to the President's latest excuses about Watergate than to his grandiose plans for "Project Independence."

Already, Congress, the Federal Trade Commission, and several states have begun a legal and legislative counterattack against the major oil companies, which, if successful, will not only put the non-major brand retailers in a very strong position, but will possibly force the major brands

by Tom Zeman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

off the retail market altogether. Already, Nixon has been forced to veto an energy bill because it included provisions calling for a rollback of gasoline prices. Liberal Senators have been vying with one another to introduce legislation which would end the hegemony of the major oil companies over the industry. At this writing, the Senate Commerce Committee is holding hearings on Senator Adlai Stevenson's bill to create a Federal drilling corporation, which would develop and sell oil and gas on government lands. Senator Philip Hart of Michigan has introduced a bill to have the government build and sell at least seven new refineries. Walter Mondale, Senator from Minnesota, has weighed in with a bill proposing a moratorium on acquisition of pipelines, refineries, and marketing outlets by the major oil companies. None of these bills, to be sure, offers anything like a rational solution to the problem of the runaway oil industry. But if passed, they certainly will open up the business for independent refiners and marketers at the majors' expense. It is this clear threat to the hegemony of the majors that led Conservative Senator James Buckley to warn oilmen last April that, "We are on the verge of a significant legislative transformation of our free enterprise system."

Potentially more significant are a series of lawsuits against the major oil companies by the Federal Trade Commission and several states, which would have the effect of totally breaking up the oil industry as presently constituted. The Federal Trade Commission, an agency that has managed to maintain a substantial independence from the Nixon Administration, has charged that the eight major oil companies "are interdependent to such an extent that, in virtually every facet of their operations, they have common rather than competitive interests." The FTC suit charges that venture drilling operations, jointly owned pipelines, and exchanges of crude and refined petroleum among the majors have kept gasoline and refining in the control of a noncompetitive oligopoly. The suit attacks the companies for artificially segmenting the market for gasoline into branded and non-branded by their common-market strategy. In particular, the Federal Trade Commission attacks marketing practices such as extensive brand identification, advertising and promotional gimmicks, and a proliferation of retail outlets to achieve regional market saturation—all of which are used to avoid price competition. The Commission is currently investigating the "educational advertisements" the major companies have been running in the media in the last few months.

Suits brought by Florida, New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maine, Massachusetts, and other states neatly complement the FTC charges. Florida's suit against 17 oil companies charges that they have violated the Clayton and Sherman Antitrust Acts by restricting retail market access. The suit complains that the companies restrict gasoline availability and price and artificially differentiate similar products. Several of the suits demand that the court separate the oil companies' marketing operations from their refining and drilling operations.

"At the same time it advertised TCP, Shell had quietly licensed 13 competing oil refiners to use the very same additive."

[WE WANT YOU TO KNOW]

No doubt it will take a while, perhaps years, before the impact of all this legal and legislative action reaches the consumer. Not all of it will be successful, and the industry and the Administration will undoubtedly use whatever delaying tactics are still at their disposal. But eventually it will have a major impact on where and how you buy gasoline. Non-major marketers could go from their current status as an embattled minority to become the dominant force in retailing gas. The majors may try to renew their claims for the distinctiveness of their gasolines, if FTC or court action does not prevent them. Or the majors might get out of gasoline marketing altogether, as one spokesman for the independent gasoline marketers recently predicted. At any rate, the numerous small corner "service stations" will be replaced by a few huge "gaseterias," each with a dozen or more pumps, such as you sometimes already see along major highways.

To tank up, you'll probably be driving to your local shopping center complex or department store. Amenities will probably disappear. Gas stations have already started charging for maps, and perhaps everyone will have to learn to pump their own gas and check their own oil. And prices, alas, will probably stay high.

So it looks like the days when you could trust your car to the man who wears the star are over. And we'd better find out what we're getting before we start investing $10 to $20 to tank up our automobiles. Oil companies have done their best to make the whole business sound confusing. They spend a lot of time telling you about things that don't matter (like additives) and no time explaining the one thing that does (octane). Unfortunately, federal regulations have so far made matters worse rather than better, but the gasoline story is actually a very simple one, and well worth your while. The following step-by-step discussion of what makes a gasoline good or bad for your car, and how you can tell, will not only save you money. It will also make you feel less like a victim of what Exxon wants you to know.

* * *

REFINING: Refining processes are much the same from company to company, and oil companies swap oil both before and after it is refined. There are a few variations in the way gasoline is blended. Some are seasonal and climatological, required of all oil companies; and slightly different blends from one company to the next *might* give you faster starts or slightly better mileage. But the only way to find out is to try various brands in your own car—don't go by advertisements.

ADDITIVES AND THE LIKE: There is no reason to buy gasoline for the sake of special additives like Platformate, F-310 or TCP. As one petroleum engineer explains it, if any one company does find a beneficial additive, other companies buy a sample of the competitor's gasoline, have it analyzed, and then add a similar ingredient to its own product. Shell's TCP, for instance, widely advertised in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Literary Guild is... a literary guild.

A book club that consistently offers you your kind of books, all at discounts of up to 40%.

Join the club now, get 4 for $1. Buy 4 more whenever you choose.

NOTE: All prices quoted are for publishers' editions. First number listed beside each book is the order number.

Here's how the Literary Guild works:

After you get your initial four books for $1, you only have to buy four more books during your membership. Then, you can cancel anytime you want.

So, choose four books (or sets) now, send in the coupon and pay $1—plus shipping and handling—when your application is accepted.

If, after 10 days, you decide you don't want the books, send them back and we'll cancel your membership.

Fourteen times a year you'll get the Literary Guild magazine. You'll find dozens of best sellers in each issue...all at discounts of up to 40%.

To order the Selection, do nothing: it's shipped to you automatically. If you'd like an alternate, or no book, fill in your choice on the order form. There is a charge for shipping and handling.

You have 10 days to return the order form so that we get it no later than the date specified. If you receive an unwanted selection, return it at our expense.

The Guild offers its own complete, hardbound editions, altered in size to fit special presses and save members even more.

CLIP AND MAIL TODAY

The Literary Guild

Dept. **FR-212**. Garden City, N.Y. 11530

Please accept my application for membership in the Literary Guild and send me the 4 books or sets whose numbers I have printed in the boxes at right. Bill me only $1 plus shipping and handling.

I agree to the membership plan as described in the above ad and understand that I need only buy 4 more books whenever I want them.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss (Please Print)
Address

City

State Zip

Members accepted in U.S.A. and Canada only. Canadian members will be serviced from Toronto. Offer slightly different in Canada.

52-G116

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sixties, was just a phosphorus additive which helped keep spark plugs clean. But TCP has since been removed from gasoline because it fouls up the catalytic converters which will be standard equipment on many new autos. Platformate, also widely advertised by Shell, is not an additive but a refining process, one of many developed over the last few years to get more high-octane gasoline from a barrel of oil. Chevron's F-310 is a detergent additive. Gasolines have for some years included detergent as a de-icing agent. Because Chevron's F-310 had more than most, it helped to keep carburetors clean. But, once again, most gasolines now use something similar.

More interesting are the lengths to which oil companies go to prove the superiority of their additives: Chevron used to run a television ad showing the car with F-310 having clean exhaust, and the car without it belching black smoke. But in a Federal Trade Commission hearing Chevron admitted that, in order to get a car running so dirty in the first place, a special gasoline, much gummier than any on the market, had to be invented. Next to the Chevron-developed "test" gasoline, other competing brands looked just as miraculously clean as did Chevron with F-310.

KNOCKING: Using the wrong gasoline can cause excessive engine knock (or ping). This has nothing to do with brand names or additives and is related only to the octane rating of your gasoline (see OCTANE below). While knocking can be a serious problem, it is not as serious as most people think—or as gasoline advertising would have you believe.

Knocking occurs when the gasoline and air mixture in the cylinders of the engine burns prematurely. If the mixture burns before the piston reaches the right point in its stroke, you will hear a distinct knocking (or pinging) sound, similar to hammers rapidly tapping on metal. Continuous knocking over long periods can severely damage your engine, but the slight sound you may momentarily hear when accelerating or climbing a steep hill is normal and harmless. In fact, a slight, inaudible knock, called "trace knock," is actually good for your car—it shakes deposits off the piston heads. Over two hundred hours of continuous, intense knocking on a test engine were required before damage resulted.

OCTANE NUMBERS: Octane numbers provide an index as to how well a gasoline prevents knocking. The octane rating system is useful to know and easy to understand, although the oil industry, the federal government, and even the auto industry have done their best to make it obscure and confusing. The octane number is a rating on a scale of one to 100 of how well a particular gasoline prevented engine knocking under particular test conditions. An octane rating of 92, for example, does not mean that the gasoline is 92 percent pure, or that it has 92 of anything in it—it just means that it performed better than gasolines rated 91 or below and not as well as those rated 93 or above. An automobile engine needs a certain minimum octane to run properly, depending on the car. But gasoline with a higher octane rating than that minimum will not help your car, and can do some small harm.

Since selling high octane gasoline is more profitable than regular or economy grades, the industry is not anxious to explain octane. In 1970, the Federal Trade Commission ruled that octane ratings had to be listed on gasoline pumps, but the oil companies immediately took the FTC to court,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where the matter still stands. Since then, the Federal Energy Administration has issued its own rule requiring octane ratings on pumps, but its authority is temporary and is not being enforced. If posted at all, octane ratings on most gasoline pumps are hardly legible and are sometimes hidden on the side of the pump.

To make matters worse there are two octane numbering systems: the standard ("Research") system and the oil industry system. Different testing conditions are used for each and, as a result, the octane number for the *same gasoline* is about four numbers less by the industry system than by the standard system. And it is the *industry's* number that the government requires to be posted on gasoline pumps. So, for example, if your auto manual says your car will run on 91 Research octane, use the gas pump labeled 87 octane.

Why the confusing second system? The oil industry claims that its system is more accurate than the Research octane number, although Dr. Alfred Cattaneo of the University of California disagrees. Cattaneo says that the Research number corresponds to the driving needs of American cars 98 percent of the time, while the industry system measures octane requirements only for a car under extreme strain. In any case the oil industry benefits from the confusion. Since the industry's system gives the *same* gasoline a *lower* number than the Research octane system, people are led to believe that regular and economy grades are not good enough and therefore are encouraged to overbuy.

WHAT OCTANE GASOLINE TO BUY: You should buy the lowest grade gasoline you can get, providing it doesn't cause heavy engine knock. Just about every car built since 1971 (including Cadillacs) will run well on economy grade fuel (the pump labelled 87 octane). The only cars requiring premium are high-compression cars built in the 1960s.

There's an interesting story about how Americans came to identify high octane with better gasoline. The Ethyl Corporation, the principal manufacturer of the lead additive used to make high-octane gasoline, insisted that companies buying "ethyl" also had to improve their gasoline in other respects. These other improvements—faster starting and cleaner burning—had nothing to do with the lead itself, but people began to identify premium as a better gasoline. A number of years ago, however, Ethyl's requirements were ruled in restraint of trade, and now all grades of gasoline are clean and fast starting. But ethyl or premium is still considered higher quality, and oil companies encourage this myth by painting their pumps gold and giving them fancy names.

A NOTE ON LEAD: The Roman Empire declined and fell because lead poisoning made the aristocracy sterile and unable to reproduce—so says one theory. If true, the United States may be headed in the same direction. The Romans imbibed lead while drinking wine from their lead-glazed pottery. We spew it out of our automobiles and breathe it in from the air. Lead additives to gasoline account for 90 percent of lead emissions to the atmosphere, according to the Environmental Protection Agency. A quarter of urban children tested have unacceptable blood-lead levels and some people living in high auto exhaust areas are showing signs of biochemical abnormalities that precede lead poisoning.

"Some people living in high auto exhaust areas are showing signs of the biochemical abnormalities that precede lead poisoning."

But lead is completely unnecessary to the manufacture of gasoline. In fact, Amoco has been making lead-free gasoline for years. Starting in 1975, new cars with the required catalytic exhaust converters must run on no-lead fuels. As of July 1st, about a third of all gasoline stations will be required to have at least one lead-free pump.

But the Environmental Protection Agency program to remove lead from gasoline has been moving slowly, despite increasing evidence of the danger of lead in the atmosphere. EPA's original program to sharply reduce lead emissions by 1977 has been deferred for two years, and plans to eventually remove lead from gasoline altogether have been dropped. Government documents revealed by the Natural Resources Defense Council in New York show that the EPA's rules were weakened after heavy industry pressure was brought to bear on the EPA through other government agencies. For instance, a Commerce Department memo reveals that the Ethyl corporation was given an early draft of the proposed EPA regulations before they were made public. Other memos indicate that the Commerce Department opposed the regulations after consulting only with representatives of the lead, oil and auto industries, with not one representative from consumer groups or academia.

Unfortunately oil companies have been charging about 2¢ more per gallon for unleaded gasoline than for leaded, although a gradual changeover to unleaded production costs the oil companies at most only an extra fraction of a cent per gallon. Nevertheless, it is still a good idea to start using lead-free gasoline. Besides helping to restore a healthy environment, you will save money (between 1½¢ and 2¢ a gallon) on oil changes and filters if you use lead-free gasoline.

One test that the Ethyl company has been publicizing lately shows that, under conditions of severe stress, pre-1971 cars may be damaged from the use of lead-free gasoline. The valve seats in those cars are made of a softer metal that *might* sometimes require the lead in gasoline to harden them. But the tests are not conclusive, and apply only to pre-1971 cars pulling extra heavy loads. Also, if until now you have been using leaded gasoline in your pre-1971 car, there is more than enough lead ingrained in the valve seats for you to safely use unleaded gas for the rest of your car's life.

* * *

And that in a nutshell is the story of gasoline. A former official of Standard Oil of California recently revealed that it costs an oil company about 12¢ a gallon to recover oil, transport it, and make it into gasoline (*including* the much advertised cost of new investment), but the oil companies are charging 60¢ or more per gallon. Quite a markup, even when you take into account gasoline taxes and dealer profit. If we're going to have to pay outlandish prices, we may as well know what we're paying for. ■

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senator John Tunney:

His Father Was a Heavyweight

John Tunney is sipping Dubonnet in a Fresno hotel bar that to his shock has no red wine. Unnoticed, he has slipped past a Friday afternoon happy hour crowd into a dimly lit corner booth with his aide, Ward Wardman, a one-time Muskie worker and movie publicist. Tunney is dressed in a grey suit, wrinkled after a day of driving through the San Joaquin Valley, and his baggy pants are held up with a thin frayed belt.

He launches into one of his most popular discourses. John Tunney is no ideologue, no moon-struck pursuer of causes, however popular they may be with the electorate. "I hate labels," he says, puffing on a four-inch-long cigar. "I've always been a liberal on civil rights and civil liberties. On that I'm uncompromising. The freedom of an individual in a democratic society is the single most important issue in America today. When big government tries to abuse that privilege, to denigrate it through wiretapping, or the abuse of police power or economic sanctions, I cannot, in the political sense, tolerate it."

But as if to say he has a little something to offer everyone, he notes that economically he is no liberal. "If anything I've become more conservative. I've become convinced you have to allow free enterprise to operate and I believe in the free market system. That's why I want to bust up the oil companies and apply anti-trust laws to the big auto companies." Tamper too much with the free marketplace with liberal Keynesian economics," he observes, and "you have to pay the price."

He is aware that some people are sniping at him. "These are the people who never bothered to follow me around the state; all you have to do is to look at the record and see all the bills and amendments I've had passed and all those hours I've spent doing committee work. Any person who has achieved a great deal has enemies who try to denigrate him. It's almost pathetic, they're using the old saw of 'he doesn't work' when the facts are so clearly obvious."

A bosomy brunette dressed in a Cher-like outfit with a white fish-net covering her bare midriff comes over to the table and introduces herself as the daughter of one of his long-time supporters. He forgets his name for the moment, but enthuses with a wide smile and bobbing head, "It's great to see you, my how wonderful to see you again." Even in the backwaters of the state, his father's fame pursues him, which is not all negative. "I've got a $5 bet with my wife," says one elderly man who approaches the table. "Is it Tooney or Tunney?" he asks. Tunney gives him the correct pronunciation and the man says, "When your dad fought Dempsey the ring announcer said Tooney. I just lost $5."

Four years ago, in what now seems to be ancient history, Tunney banged away at Vietnam. Today his theme is candor in politics and integrity of the individual. "I think the era of caution in politics is over," he said recently. "I think it's necessary to take a stand on Nixon and on the corporate entities that are ruling our lives. People are angry as hell at the monumental hypocrisy that has characterized so many politicians. I think that the era of that kind of politics is over."

[THE SENATOR]

It was 1970 when John Varick Tunney, who played on his resemblance to the Kennedys, entered the lists against right-wing Senator George Murphy. Tunney had style, grace, a Harvard accent, an attractive wife, three children, a famous name and lots of money. They were all the ingredients for a "new politics" image-molding media blitz that would

by George Baker

Illustration by Gary Hallgren

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vault him from relative obscurity to national prominence. All that was needed was a campaign theme. And David Garth, the New York media wizard who works only for "liberal" candidates, came up with one. "The big boys have enough friends. You need a fighter in your corner," announced the television spots which deluged California homes in the fall of 1970.

Tunney punched the stuffing out of Murphy at the polls that year. But even before he took his seat, the jokes and sneers began. Republicans and liberal Democrats, for different reasons, dubbed Tunney a lightweight, and his first term in office has not proven them wrong. For while even critics admit that he is friendly, engaging, spontaneous, a bit like a fraternity brother, even friends are forced to concede that he has not been the fighter promised us.

Tunney was offered up as a liberal knight-errant who would slay the dragons of corruption. He would forge the foundation of a new kind of California politics, devoid of ties to the collective special interests of agribusiness, oil companies, public utilities, aerospace, the military and land developers who exert an inordinate amount of influence on state affairs.

We were never *told* that it would be this way. But the implication was clear. There he was walking on the beach with his wife and kids, hair flapping in the wind, skiing at Aspen or Switzerland, skin diving off the Santa Barbara coast, shooting the rapids of Wyoming's Green River, going on a $1.25-a-day food budget for two weeks. If it was not programmed gimmickry, it was gimmickry nevertheless, and the message was clear: this young, Connecticut-bred friend of Ted Kennedy, with a toothy smile, styled hair and an accent dripping with round, sloping vowels, would take his place alongside the big boys, the heavyweights.

But slick publicity manipulation and attentiveness to the dips and curves of public opinion are no substitute for substance and action. And it is on this score that Tunney's three and a half years in the Senate have been found wanting by a sizeable number of people.

Images are important to Tunney, but is there a little too much style and too little substance? Some California Democratic party leaders and activists sense rumblings over this very question. He will have primary opposition in 1976, they say, and a goodly number of prominent Democrats are said to be honing up their knives for such an opportunity. Max Palevsky, the Beverly Hills computer scion who bankrolled George McGovern and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, is rumored to be scouting for a candidate. This hardly makes Tunney vulnerable, but it is a telling commentary on the way he has been unable to keep his natural constituents in line.

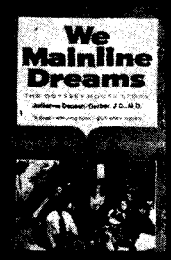
Their grievances are lengthy: Tunney, they say, has exerted little leadership in the Senate; he alienated too many parts of the Democratic coalition, particularly blacks and browns, with his bumbling attempt to seize control of the state Democratic party in 1972; he lacks the inner strength to tackle issues head-on; he is too self-conscious of his annointed role as heir to the Kennedy legacy; he waffles on too many gut issues; and he is politically indecisive.

But at the bottom line, there is something beyond mere political considerations. It is the Tunney style, the effusive mannerisms, the accent, the dress, the calculating pragmatism which offend people. "Shallow and insincere" are two attributes described more than once. Even his friends recognize how widespread this view of Tunney has become, and despair of being able to do anything about it.

Today, Tunney is 39, a bit wiser, but still the same blue-eyed, 6-3, 190-pound, gregarious, effervescent politician who went to Washington three years ago. He comes on like he's rushing you for Sigma Delta Chi, smiling, chatty, earnest, sincere--but a bit too sincere. And plenty of teeth--molars, bicuspids and canines--all gleaming like a ship's running lights. He is handsome enough to turn women's heads, engaging enough to delight cocktail parties with small chit chat. He is self-deprecating with a sense of humor about his own and life's little frailties. But underneath Tunney's glib, self-examining exterior there are the qualities of his father--combativeness and pugnacity--which surface from time to time, as when a particular question nettles him. He flashes back in angry rebuttal, often with the wooden gesture of a slam of the hand or a stab in the air.

Nelson Rising, Tunney's 1970 campaign manager and a confidante, thinks the dissatisfaction stems from fierce, inter-party struggles and some bruised egos. "There is an ethos in our society that says someone who is rich, good-looking and successful can't be smart. People say, 'A guy who looks good, has famous parents, etc., I can accept him as a Heisman Trophy winner, but not a smart senator.' "

And Los Angeles attorney Paul Ziffren, a former Democratic national committeeman, declared that "on the whole" Tunney has been an excellent Senator. "What I like about him, was that at the start of his senatorial campaign, he was advised to run strictly on his personality; his advisers told him to just talk generalities. He told them, 'If the people of California are going to send me to the Senate, it's because I stand for something. I'm interested in the issues and I'm going to talk about them.' "



"The only real solution"

–Robert Coles

WE MAINLINE DREAMS

by Judianne Densen-Gerber, J.D., M.D.

This is the surprising story of Odyssey House, the country's most successful program for curing drug addiction, as told by its founder and Executive Director. Illustrated with photographs. "A deeply affecting book."

–Publishers' Weekly

At bookstores, $2.95

PENGUIN BOOKS INC

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of the issues was the Vietnam War, which Tunney finessed with all the skill of a three-cushion billiards expert. From the time he went to Congress in 1964 until he decided to run for the Senate, Tunney was an unreconstructed supporter of Lyndon B. Johnson and his failing Vietnam policy. He backed Johnson publicly on most foreign policy matters and voted for billions of dollars in war appropriations. It wasn't until public opinion began to shift following the Tet Offensive in February and March of 1968 that Tunney began drifting away from LBJ. While he gingerly walked a tightrope en route to a 1968 reelection victory in his conservative district, there was no such caution in 1969 as he set his sights on Murphy's Senate seat.

Ever so gradually he began inching leftward, preparing to make a run at the Senate nomination and clearly trying to draw a line between himself and the hawkish Murphy. Later, Tunney would explain his shift on the war by saying, "Show me a man who never changes his mind and I'll show you a fool."

Unfortunately, a stumpy, plain-speaking congressman from Los Angeles, George E. Brown, Jr., placed some obstacles in Tunney's mad dash to Washington. Brown, who had a safe seat in the House, was so dismayed with the war that he also decided to run for the Senate. But unlike Tunney, whose sudden conversion to the anti-war ranks reeked of opportunism, Brown had opposed the war from the beginning. He had cast the lone House vote against military appropriations for Vietnam before it became fashionable, back in 1966 and 1967. He was, in fact, so liberal and outspoken that no one gave him much of a chance.

In further contrast, Brown had done the unspeakable for an ambitious politician in a state-wide race—he had dared to side with the United Farm Workers movement of Cesar Chavez in its drive to extract collective bargaining agreements from grape and lettuce growers. To that end, Brown had endorsed a UFW boycott of grapes and had spoken out forcefully and often for the aspirations of the fledgling union.

But Tunney, as far back as 1968, had staked out a far more neutral ground, owing in great measure to the political influence of farmers he represented in the grape-growing Coachella Valley and vegetable-rich Imperial Valley. Tunney was (and still is) close to agribusiness interests of the state, a quiet but powerful force in California politics. As a congressman, Tunney consistently supported the huge farm subsidies given away by the Department of Agriculture to corporate growers. Moreover, Tunney numbered among his advisers men who represented the growers in a series of federal lawsuits attacking their huge landholdings.

In 1968, when the boycott first became a political issue, Tunney had declined to endorse it. But as 1970 approached, the boycott became a more nettlesome issue, especially for an ambitious congressman. The boycott was hitting the growers where it hurt most—in the pocketbook—and they were crying for help. For Tunney, it was a no-win situation. Endorse the boycott and he risked incurring the wrath of the entire agribusiness establishment, from grape growers to the Bank of America. Side with the farmers and he would alienate urban Chicanos, farmworkers and white-collar liberals.

So he opted for his long-stated position that farmworkers should have the right to organize and that this could best be accomplished by including them under the National Labor Relations Act, from which they were, and still are, excluded. "I would like to see Cesar Chavez given the opportunity to organize farmworkers with them having the right to vote on whether they want him," he would say, almost as if reading from a cue card.

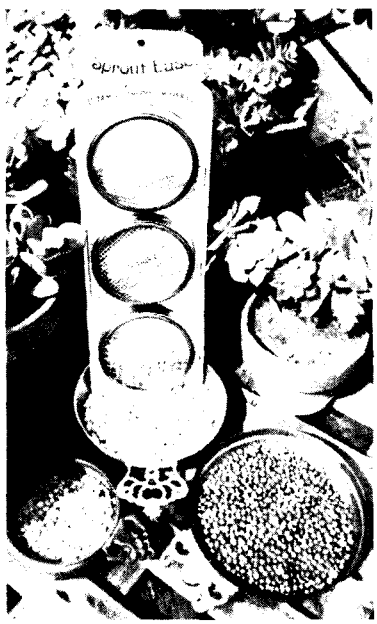
To the uninitiated, it sounded as if Tunney was whole-heartedly with the farmworkers. But the NLRA prohibits the kind of boycotts carried out by Chavez, a nicety Tunney would expound on by saying that "sanity" and "guidelines" were needed in the field of agricultural labor relations. And when pressed on the boycott, Tunney would explain, rather ingenuously, that it was wrong for politicians to become involved in labor disputes. The fact that politicians involve themselves, directly or indirectly, in labor disputes almost every day, apparently counted for nothing.

It was a well-thought-out position, which attempted to balance both the interests of labor and agribusiness, but it succeeded in alienating both. And, in any event, it was not the mark of a courageous politician.

The boycott, however, was not the only difference between himself and Brown, as Tunney found out in the primary. In his relentless, plodding

Grow Your Own Fresh Sprouts

Easy — Simple
Clean



Nutritious — with enzymes, minerals, Vitamins C, B, E and A. Grown right in your own kitchen without soil or plant food. Great in salads, sandwiches, omelets, etc. Fun for young sprouters, too.

3 graded screens, full instructions, and 3 (organically grown) seed samples. **$2.50** ppd. For screens only — **$2.00.** California residents please add sales tax. Send check or M. O. to

The Homestead Act, Dept. 35
2009 Haste St., #E
Berkeley, CA 94704

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

way, Brown kept coming back to the war and its grim hold on American life. "Let us make this election a referendum on the Vietnam War. If Richard Nixon understands nothing else, he understands politics—he understands how to count votes," Brown would say.

Tunney, too, punched away at Vietnam, but his convictions, more recently minted, had a hollow ring. Everyone assumed Tunney would walk away with the election because of his name recognition and his brimming campaign coffers. But along came Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and a massive outcry of protest, and Brown's position was strengthened. After all, he had been right from the start and Tunney's conversion had all the characteristics of a nose bob. In late May a public opinion poll was released which sent the Tunney camp into panic. Brown was leading by three percentage points. Tunney's response to the poll was, "When the people learn the radical positions of my opponent we'll pick up."

Tunney linked Brown, unfairly, to the Black Panthers and the legalization of marijuana, two subjects sure to send shudders through the folks out there in South Gate, Bakersfield and Downey. One of Brown's "radical" positions denounced by Tunney was the idea of impeaching Nixon for the Cambodian invasion. Along with his attacks on Brown, Tunney stepped up his antiwar pitch and flooded the state with his luscious television spots which went something like this: "Why do I want to be a United States Senator? Because I want to help end the senseless killing in Southeast Asia." The campaign strategy worked. Tunney won by 198,000 votes and sent Brown into retirement for two years.

[THE CANDIDATE]

The divisive primary campaign left scars which still have not healed. In June 1972 many liberals savored the taste of revenge when Tunney had to plead his way into the Democratic National Convention delegation, which by now was in the hands of blacks, browns and liberals whom Tunney had snubbed in the presidential primary. He had made the mistake of trying to seize control of the state party structure when he endorsed the then-promising candidacy of Senator Edmund G. Muskie in December 1971 and sticking with him as the campaign ship slowly sank.

Tunney had sought a rapprochement with the liberal wing of the party, but, on balance, has not succeeded. He still gives scant public support to the farmworkers. Said one UFW official, "I don't think he's done shit for our people. He did put a little pressure on the feds after a bus accident that killed 19 farmworkers down in his old district, but that's pretty safe. Otherwise he sits back and trys not to get involved."

One newspaperman who has followed Tunney's career since Congress observed, "I think he's a sincere guy, but someone who has built up this public image. I always felt he set out to manufacture the image and he's done pretty well, but not quite well enough. I remember his accent. It used to get 50 percent thicker in front of political audiences and that kept me from giving him high marks for credibility."

Considering the men Tunney has surrounded himself with, all this is not surprising. They are, for the most part, Los Angeles lawyers—ambitious, shrewd, pragmatic, glib, and upwardly mobile, with access to lots of money. They are men like Warren M. Christopher, Nelson Rising and Fred Port. Rising is a 32-year-old entrepreneur who left the politically well-connected law firm of O'Melveny & Meyers to make money on such things as tennis schools, land developments and recreation subdivisions. He talks in terms of "voter-perceived issues" and the "demographics of voters," as if public opinion polls are sacrosanct. A gut issue, say, of supporting the farmworkers, may be important to "the opinion makers and party activists," Rising says, but it doesn't permeate the voting level. "The only reality in politics," he says almost proudly, "is the perceived reality."

If all this has the familiar ring of a recent movie, *The Candidate,* starring Robert Redford, it could be more than coincidental. Rising was an associate producer and the screenplay was written by Jerry Larner, a former Tunney speechwriter. Larner swears the movie wasn't based on Tunney's meteoric rise in California politics, that it was a

A rock garden.

Yours for only $1.

"Odyssey." A rock garden. Seeded with blues, jazz, country, classical. A 12-inch LP of all kinds of music, but all persuasively mulched with the ritual magic of rock.

Rick Wakeman's "Catherine Howard" fuses rock with classical piano. Rock melds with country in "Journey Through the Past" by Rita Coolidge. Quincy Jones' "Summer in the City" mates it with jazz in the unmistakable style of his dynamic motion picture scores.

There's Paul Williams combining rock and M.O.R. Strawbs blend the rough wit of English music halls with today's beat. Also Sonny and Brownie, Sandy Denny, Joan Armatrading, Cheryl Dilcher, Lani Hall. Each a distinctive cultivator in this garden of rock.

All for only $1.

Why so little? Simple. It's our way of celebrating another year of Altec leadership in designing and producing monitor loudspeakers for the recording industry. Produced in conjunction with A&M Records and pressed from 100% virgin vinyl, "Odyssey" is a tribute to a perfect relationship between art and technology through the medium of music.

41 minutes of rock gardening excitement. Available through participating Altec dealers, or by mail. Supply is limited, so get your rock garden today.

You'll dig it.

*Plus 25¢ for postage and handling when purchased by mail order.

ALTEC
1515 S. Manchester Ave.
Anaheim, Calif. 92803

Enclosed is $1.00 plus 25¢ for postage and handling. Please send me my copy of "Odyssey." (Stereo only)

Name
Address
City
State
Zip

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commentary on all "charismatic" candidates. But there are others who see more than a passing similarity.

When "the candidate" outpolled the incumbent he vacuously remarked at the end of the movie, "What do I do now?" Tunney was hardly that naive when he beat Murphy and, in fact, one of his campaign men remarked on election night, "Well, now onto the White House." It's a long way to the White House from the congressional district Tunney represented from 1964 to 1970. The 38th district stretched from smog-bound Riverside on the edge of the Los Angeles megalopolis to the tacky Mexican border towns of the Imperial Valley. It contained a polyglot constituency with a conservative tinge, a microcosm of the state, which fostered political logrolling and a deft balancing of issues.

Tunney began his career there after he joined the Air Force and was shipped out to March Air Base near Riverside as a second lieutenant in the Judge Advocate General's office. Before that he had enjoyed an undistinguished prep school record and graduated from Yale University, dabbling in anthropology, poetry and travel. For want of anything else to do, he enrolled at the University of Virginia Law School, where in his first year he met Ted Kennedy. For the next two years they were roommates and won a Moot court award before would-be Supreme Court Justice Clement Haynesworth. Many people date Tunney's interest in politics from 1958 when he went with Ted to Massachusetts, to help Ted's brother John retain his Senate seat. If so, his politics then were radically different from later years: he had a conservative, Tory-like perception of social problems.

Once in Riverside, Tunney made plans to launch his political career. In 1962 he changed his registration from Republican to Democrat and wangled a 30-day pass to accompany Ted Kennedy on a tour of South America. He duly chronicled the visit in a series of articles in the *Riverside Press-Enterprise* and began speaking to civic groups.

The myth is that Tunney stumbled into politics, as if he had accidentally taken the wrong turn at a crossroad. "People really think I ought to run for Congress. Can you imagine that?" he wrote to his wife in 1964, according to *Time* magazine. Those who knew him in those years remember it differently. "As I recall, he was there in Riverside and somebody in the Kennedy clan advised him, if he had to start, he might as well start there," said one man who knew him then. "The incumbent, Pat Minor Martin, was vulnerable, a sick man, and the Democrats recognized a good thing. If anything, it was him seeking the office and not the opposite."

Gene Tunney and Jack Dempsey roared into the district, evoking memories of a by-gone era. Tunney's brother Jonathan took over as campaign director, and a political career was launched. There was one "image" change. When he decided to run, John Tunney was known as Varick Tunney. But a poll showed that 66 percent of the people associated the name Varick with the Politburo or the KGB, so Tunney went by his given name of John. As it turned out, 1964 was a good year to run, at least for Democrats. Lyndon Johnson clobbered Barry Goldwater and Tunney rode LBJ's coattails to a 10,000 vote victory margin. Each election victory after that, 1966 and 1968, the margin grew larger, thanks in part to friendly Democratic gerrymandering in 1965.

[THE RECORD]

On most counts Tunney has a liberal voting record, at least in the tradition of the Americans for Democratic Action, which recently gave him a 90 rating. As a freshman senator, Tunney has even had some meaningful legislation enacted, such as a noise pollution control bill, the right of 18-21 year-olds to serve federal jury duty, a federal program to fight Sickle Cell Anemia and a tax reform measure which permits the deduction of child care costs for working mothers.

Yet these kinds of legislative programs offend no particular economic or voting bloc, and that is the pattern which runs through Tunney's legislative record. When it comes to grappling with basic social forces and the realigning of economic powers, he is in the back row. For instance, he is not noticeably exercised about the need for basic reform of the top-heavy tax structure. He has opposed enforcement of a federal law to break up large landholdings in the Imperial Valley, perhaps because one of his advisers, Warren Christopher, Jr., helped defend growers against such a federal lawsuit. While trumpeting the enforcement of anti-trust regulations, Tunney sided with soft drink bottlers who wanted to retain their exclusive territorial franchises. He supported a bill which would have reimbursed California canners for their losses resulting from the use of cyclamates in products which the Food and Drug Administration banned. In what was really a Southern California pork barrel, he voted to extend the Lockheed Corporation a $250 million government loan.

A Washington reporter who has covered Tunney for a number of years says he is unable to grasp the fundamental importance of issues. "He didn't know his ass from a hot rock at the start. He's been making some improvement since, and he's still a little up and down. But I don't think he knows who he is," said the reporter. "Tunney is going to be in trouble in 1976, not because of his campaign against Brown, but because he tries to skate on the issues. He jumps from issue to issue, trying to make a political name."

His headline hunting and political indecisiveness surfaced in 1971 when he changed his mind twice on whether the government should continue funding for the Supersonic Transport. The SST was branded a white elephant and a menace to the environment and Tunney finally voted against it. His public agonizing, based largely on superficial reasoning about the SST's impact on California jobs, branded him as a shallow, if not faulty, logician. Said one man close to him, "He never really understood the issues."

One of the cruelest jokes floated around Capitol Hill in 1972 when Tunney went to Illinois to campaign for Representative Roman Pucinski, a Democrat, who was running for the Senate against Charles Percy. "The reason Tunney was campaigning for Pucinski," the aside went, "was because he didn't want to be the dumbest guy in the Senate."

George Baker is a San Joaquin Valley California newsman and free lance writer.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo courtesy Indochina Resource Center

Report from Saigon:

An Economy Near Collapse

A Japanese electronics firm recently advertised in Saigon for 19 transistor radio assemblers. It was offering a wage of 6,000 piastre ($10) a month. This would provide one Vietnamese man and child with just enough rice to live on. It would leave little or nothing over for meat, fish, vegetables, rent, busfares, electricity or water. There were more than 600 applications for the jobs.

A senior civil servant, immaculately dressed and groomed, to all appearances one of those who benefit most from Vietnam's complicated system of checks and handouts, takes a visitor aside and explains that all is not as it seems with him. He is only five years from retirement and earns 25,000P ($40) a month. Yet he can no longer afford to feed his family. Every weekend he has to take the bus out into the country, where his mother still lives in a village, and scrounge food from her for the week ahead. *"Je ne sais pas comment on va continuer, Monsieur"* he says. "I don't know how to go on."

To the Vietnamese, education of children is enormously important and the decision to keep them away from school is made only *in extremis*. There is now a 40 percent drop in attendance at Saigon's feepaying secondary schools.

In Saigon the bark has been stripped from many of the trees which line the French-laid boulevards. In January the South Vietnamese government (GVN) raised the price of kerosene from 60P (10 cents) to 125P a liter. Kerosene is the main cooking fuel in Saigon; a family of six used to burn an average of two liters a day. No one is quite sure what they will burn when the bark runs out and the trees die off. "They'll just have to do less cooking" says a USAID official.

Those trees that do live will be less threatened by pollution than before. There are far fewer Hondas on the streets of Saigon then there were two years ago; many people have taken to bicycles. Last December a few ingenious taxi drivers managed to adapt their battered, tattered, clattering and almost unbelievably ancient blue and white cabs to run on peanut oil and paraffin. But half the capital's fleet of jalopies is now off the streets—their owners just can't absorb the increase in fuel costs.

This April the conventional wisdom among foreign journalists and a good

by William Shawcross

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many diplomats in Saigon was that although Thieu was holding ground in the war, the GVN was losing the economy. Since Nixon and Kissinger trumpeted their "peace with honor" neither side has stopped fighting (no one, least of all Nixon or Kissinger, expected them to do so), but the more than 72,000 Vietnamese deaths since then do not reflect any overall military gain by either side. The real loss is economic and it has been sustained by the GVN.

South Vietnamese officials tend to agree that the Communists are now trying to undermine their control of society rather than destroy their army. One said in April, "The Communists' intent is now to foster revolution in South Vietnam rather than to 'liberate' us. The 'liberation' argument is no longer quite so effective now that the Americans have left. But inflation and unemployment do make the class struggle seem far more self-evident." Last summer Thieu himself admitted that if rice prices soared beyond peoples' reach, "collapse would not be impossible." Rice is already out of the reach of millions.

Last year inflation in South Vietnam was worse than in any year since 1966. A 65 percent increase in all prices was dwarfed by the 100 percent rise in the cost of rice. In 1971 rice cost $150 a ton in Saigon; now it is $500. During 1973 the price of a kilo of medium grade rice in Saigon's Central Market rose from 85P to 180P (30¢). A family of five used to eat 2 kilos a day which, at present prices, would work out at 10,800 piastres a month. A soldier earns 14,000 piastres a month. This calendar year food prices are expected to rise by at least another 60 percent. "I don't think there will be any Sahel [Central Africa]-type famine here," says a weary USAID official, "but there will certainly be a big rise in malnutrition." It is already noticeable: relief officials report that in the village of Khanh My, on the coast near Hue, people are eating roots of trees and bushes; and that in Quang Ngai, whole families are attempting to survive on one meal of three sweet potatoes and a few land crabs a day. Government officials admit that the only short-term solution to the food shortage is for people to eat less.

[GLOOM AND DECAY]

The hideous, fortress-like USAID building in Saigon is more than ever in need of a coat of paint. Inside the thick glass door (shielded from the street) a Vietnamese secretary still perches at a little table and takes the names of visitors. A Marine guard still sits at the big desk opposite, reading comic books, but no longer bothers to check visitors' identification. In the offices upstairs, middle-aged American secretaries continue to type endless letters and memos, but neither the written nor the spoken words of their bosses demonstrate the confidence that U.S. officials here once exuded even at the worst moments of crisis. Perhaps the most striking change noticeable after an absence of two years is the gloom and despair in which American officials now occasionally wallow. A recent USAID report begins "Events in 1974 may, by comparison, soften the memory of 1973 but, as it ended, most Vietnamese looked back on a year of hardship and stress." One official, sitting slumped and exhausted in his chair, compounds the despondency: "It's all been downhill for the last two years and the decline is bound to continue."

The economy is deteriorating because of the U.S. withdrawal, the worldwide rise in commodity prices, uncertainty over the future of economic aid, and the continuing war. Economic survival depends partly on the GVN's hopes of finding offshore oil, partly on loans from third countries (countries other than the U.S.), and very largely on the generosity of the U.S. Congress. Which is why so many South Vietnamese officials and supporters of President Thieu have flown to Washington in recent months in unsuccessful attempts to gain Congressional support for expanded economic aid. Which is why U.S. Ambassador Graham A. Martin ceaselessly declares that Hanoi is frantically gearing up its "chorus" in the West to have aid cut off. It may be a little quixotic of the ambassador to assign Teddy Kennedy to quite the same choir as Jane Fonda, but his reasons are logical enough: replacement aid is as vital to Thieu's survival as replacement ammunition and Thieu's opponents understand this as well as his supporters.

Here are some of the figures which illustrate Saigon's problem: This year the GVN will earn a maximum of $100 million (and that's very optimistic) from exports of rubber, timber, fish and scrap iron. (Scrap iron exports, potentially a big currency earner, have been bedeviled by disputes over who actually owns the valuable rubbish of the war. Is it the Pentagon, the ARVN, the GVN, or the generals' wives? Scrap smuggling is today one of the country's largest growth industries.) At current prices Saigon will have to spend at least $150 million on oil, $80 million on fertilizer (whose price has tripled in recent months), $300 million on rice, and $150 million on steel and machinery imports. The difference will have to be made good by selling gold (it has about $120 million worth); by drawing on its dwindling reserves (down from $400 million in 1971 to less than $100 million today); by third country aid (last year it got only $28 million from Japan and $12 million from France, so this is unlikely to be much help); and by the United States itself.

America spent the last decade turning the Vietnamese peasantry into soldiers and servants: 15 percent of the workforce is now in the armed forces; and the war forced 25 percent of the population out of productive work into service industries which, by 1971, accounted for a staggering 51 percent of GNP. The soldiers, thanks to America, still have work to do. But the servants are now masterless and unemployed. In 1971 Americans spent $400 million in Vietnam itself; in 1973 it was down to $100 million. In 1969 the U.S. Mission directly employed over 160,000 Vietnamese; it now employs under 17,000. The loss of indirect income and employment has been even greater: the hundreds of thousands of salesmen, Honda drivers, paper boys, foodstall owners, bargirls, shoeshine boys, who were conjured up to tend to the Americans now have nothing. In a few bars in Saigon, Saigon Tea can still be bought—it now costs 1,000 piastres a glass—but there's almost no one to pay for it. Altogether, the departure of the GIs has caused a drop in national income of about 10 percent, and its impact has been almost entirely borne by the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

poor in Saigon and other urban centers.

Essential to economic stabilization now is returning to agricultural production the 5.8 million refugees who have, since 1960, been driven off the land and into shanty towns and camps and city slums. A World Bank team, which visited South Vietnam last November to report on its economic prospects, reckoned that this would increase the country's production by 40 percent and eventually restore the nation's self-sufficiency in rice. The question is whether Thieu can both cultivate and fight the countryside. The answer is no.

[ECONOMIC PIPE-DREAMS]

In May 1973 Thieu unveiled the plan which, Ambassador Martin ceaselessly tells us, will enable South Vietnam, after only two more years of large-scale U.S. aid, to experience an "economic takeoff on the Korea-Taiwan economic model." In this highly optimistic scheme, 1973-5 was to be the period of maximum dependence on foreign aid: it was to be used to increase rice production, resettle refugees and begin to rebuild the infrastructure. A start has been made. Last year, some 800,000 refugees were moved back onto the land, given building materials and a six months supply of food, and told to start planting. However, their new homes were chosen less for fertile soil than for their distance from communist positions. Rice production declined again.

During the second stage of Thieu's plan, 1975-6, public expenditure was to be reduced, and private investment encouraged. Foreign aid could be scaled down. Finally, over 1977-80, GNP would increase at 9 percent a year, and South Vietnam would become all but independent. Foreign investors would be falling over one another as they rushed eagerly downtown from Tan Son Nhut airport to stake their claims.

Perhaps last spring it was possible for the GVN to believe that enough people would be convinced enough for enough of the time. But that was before the oil crisis, and in the days when some people had perhaps not yet realized that peace with honor in fact meant war without end. South Vietnamese laws on foreign investment are a give-away which no one is taking.

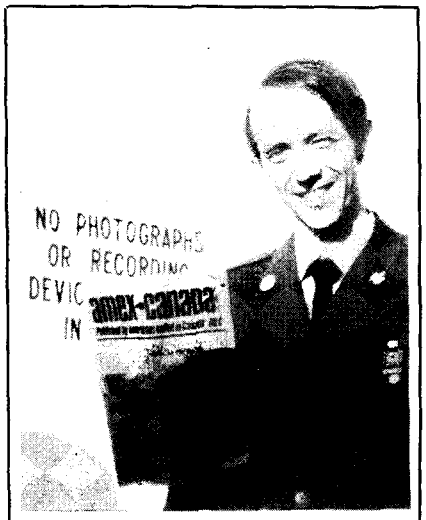
Any new GVN-approved investment in South Vietnam is exempted from all taxes for five years; the Government guarantees that it won't set up any public or part-public, part-private, enterprise to compete with the foreign concern; that it won't nationalize any foreign investment; that the foreign company can bring in all the technicians it wants, to be exempt from income tax for three years; and that the enterprise itself can remit all royalty payments abroad. Assistant Minister of Finance Vu Khac Dung declared last October that "the risks are worth running because the rewards are great."

Not great enough, it seems. Although the Japanese government has agreed to give limited liability to firms who invest there, Japanese commitment to South Vietnam so far amounts to little more than a couple of cheap shrimp freezing plants in the Mekong Delta. The United States has refused to extend any guarantees at all to firms thinking of investing in the future of President Thieu.

Third country and international aid is now flowing into Saigon about as fast as foreign investment. Minister of Finance Chau Kim Nhan points out that "Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Australia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and many others all profited from the war. Now it's their turn to help us." But they don't seem interested. Foreign Minister Vuong Van Bac has just completed a tour of South America and the Middle East; he did very well, was warmly welcomed by Argentina's Peron and—much more of a coup—established diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia.* But neither money nor oil has followed the warm embraces. Third country aid in 1973 amounted to only about $50 million, and it was almost all tied to specific projects; 1974 looks no brighter.

When the GVN was admitted last year to the World Bank, happy South Vietnamese officials immediately threw a lavish party in an Alexandria, Virginia hotel for their Bank counterparts. The celebration was pre-

*** South Vietnam now has full diplomatic relations with 45 countries, some links with about 90. Bac, who realizes the danger of Taiwanization, says he hopes to establish full diplomatic relations with all 90; he is working hard.**



"I WAS RIGHT IN DOING WHAT I DID."

So said Dick Bucklin upon return from 5 years in exile as an Army AWOL. Dick was sentenced to 15 months in the stockade for the "crime" of refusing to fight an illegal, immoral war. Upon release he will begin his life sentence with a Bad Conduct Discharge.

More recently his fellow exile in Sweden, Army AWOL Lewis Simon, was sentenced to 7 months in the Stockade plus a Bad Conduct Discharge.

In the U.S. there are more than half a million vets with Bad Discharges—mostly for resisting the war and the racism and militarism of the Armed Forces. Black vets suffer disproportionately.

JOIN the campaign to amnesty Bucklin and Simon and all war resisters unconditionally. Follow the amnesty movement by subscribing to AMEX. Donations are badly needed! Do it today.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER: Get our two special issues on Dick Bucklin free with a year's subscription. The two issues alone can be purchased for $1.00. For both offers include ad with remittance. Rates: one year—$5 for an individual, $7 for overseas, $8 for an institution; $7.50 for a two year subscription for an individual.

amex/canada
Published by Americans exiled in Canada

AMEX / CANADA
P.O. Box 189, Station P
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 2S7

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mature; no loans have been given. "Any dollars we give them now just release other dollars for the war effort," says one World Bank official, "so what's the point?" The Bank will give no loans until the fighting ends. "I don't see how it can ever end while Thieu remains President" says another official. Back to the White House.

Nixon has requested $750 million in economic aid to Saigon for Fiscal Year 1975, and in Vietnam today it's impossible to find a GVN or U.S. official who doesn't believe this, plus about $250 million from Public Law 480, to be the minimum compatible with survival. $600 million would go immediately to financing imports of oil, rice and fertilizer. The promise, made by Nixon and constantly repeated by proconsul Martin, that after two years of such continued heavy aid U.S. financial assistance could be cut back, evokes sarcastic laughter in Saigon today.

Saigon's own, most optimistic forecast of its export growth reckons that its dollar earnings will only average $190 million between now and 1980. And in 1980, again according to the GVN's best figures, South Vietnam's exports will reach $290 million—this in a year when import needs for goods and services are expected to reach $1.06 *billion.* So even if President Thieu's reconstruction program were a total success, his government would still require at least $770 million to cover its balance of payments deficit in 1980. In fact, the need is likely to be much larger than that.

There is one joker in what seems otherwise to be an appalling hand for Saigon. GVN officials declare to a man that their salvation lies in oil. Last year the government sold off the first exploration rights on the continental shelf for $17 million, and preliminary reports from the oil companies may come this summer. If oil is traced, foreign confidence in the economy can only rise, and in the long run its exploitation might go far towards solving Saigon's balance of payments problem. But the suggestion, eagerly touted by Vietnamese officials, a little more warily offered by their American counterparts, that its discovery will magically transform their economy from a pumpkin into a gold coach, is somewhat fanciful. It will be, in any case, a good five years before any oil find begins to generate revenue.

If the GVN were to survive those next five years of war, it would be because, quite apart from their generous gift to feed the war machine, its supporters had pumped at least another $4 billion into the economy. Far from generating any "Korea-Taiwan type economic takeoff" this aid would not even halt the relentless decline in the people's standard of life. Even the $750 million which Nixon has requested for 1975 would not keep pace with the rise in world prices. And projected imports for 1974, says the World Bank, "fall considerably short of what the country will need to prevent living conditions from deteriorating still further and to implement the reconstruction and development program of the government. . . . [The] reduction of imports will probably accentuate the shortages which have already prevailed in the last two years, and this situation in turn will be a constraint upon the reconstruction and recovery of the economy."

[THE TUNNEL'S END]

The question is when and whether this inevitable deterioration will cause a collapse of morale in the army or the civil service, leading to widespread social disruption. The USAID report congratulates itself that last year, despite hardships, "there were no significant public demonstrations, strikes or disorders." American officials hope that Thieu's enormous police force will be able to deal with any that might occur. But the decline in wealth is already upsetting the intricate, almost formalized network of corruption by which a few Vietnamese officials hope to make a killing, and most just try to make a living. Last year money supply increased by only 19 percent against price increases of 65 percent. In this situation, demands by policemen or soldiers for bribes or food become more and more irksome and also, perhaps for the first time, impossible for ordinary people to meet.

Journalists, priests and relief workers report that wherever villagers under GVN control come into contact with those on the other side, corruption has become a prime issue. In the Delta the Communists are selling rice to GVN villagers at prices far below Saigon's, explaining that honesty keeps their costs down. "They're selling off cheap rice like a supermarket uses a loss leader" complains one USAID official. But everyone knows how successful supermarkets can be, and it is becoming not uncommon to hear that whole villages have defected to the PRG.

Outside of U.S. and GVN officials speaking for public consumption, it's difficult now to find anyone in Washington or Saigon who believes that Thieu can win both the economy and the war; the consensus seems to be that the economy will destroy him first. Thieu is apparently convinced that to meet the perceived threat from the communists he must keep 15 percent of the population in the armed forces. To persuade them that they are not wasting their time totally, hostilities must remain at a certain level. That level seems incompatible with the redeployment and reconstruction necessary for economic survival.

All that the U.S. government can do is try to arrest the total collapse of the social fabric of South Vietnam. At a cost of about $700 million a year, indefinitely, it might just succeed. But to what purpose? There can never be a "Korea-Taiwan type economic takeoff" in South Vietnam if for only one of the fundamental differences which Ambassador Martin apparently fails to understand: neither South Korea nor Taiwan must face an internationally-approved hostile army on its soil.

If by 1980 four billion more American dollars have helped sustain the GVN's economy, the war will still continue, the trees in Saigon will probably be dead, the secondary schools will be almost empty, hundreds of thousands of people will not have tasted rice for years and, if last year's fighting is an indicator, at least another 350,000 Vietnamese will have died. In Saigon, even senior GVN officials are beginning to admit privately that it is an impossible prospect. A few can even be heard speaking of the Nixon-Kissinger policies with a tone of weary contempt.

William Shawcross, just back from Vietnam, is a correspondent for the London Sunday Times. *His book on Hungary,* Crime and Compromise, *has just been published by Dutton.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inside the CIA:

The Clandestine Mentality

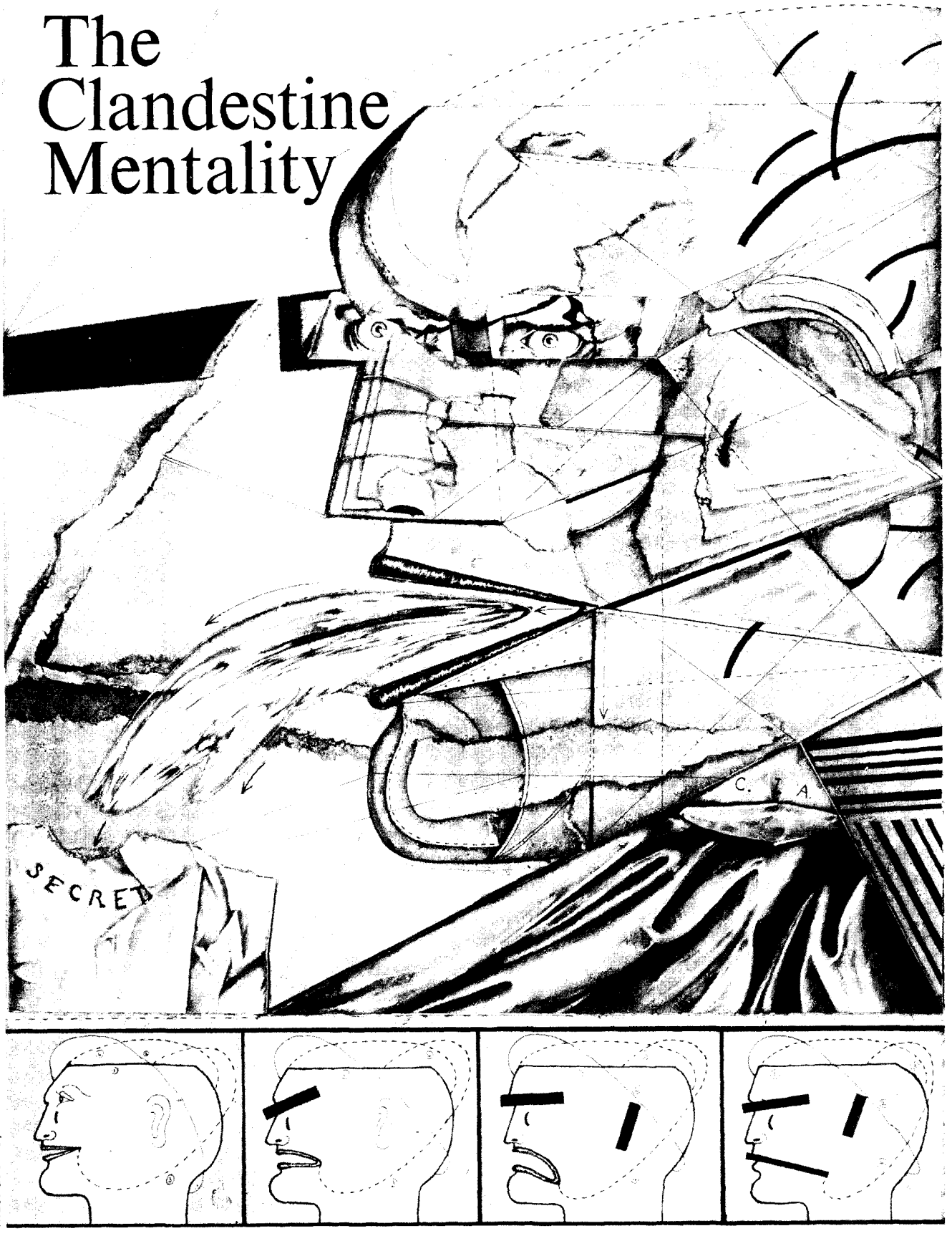


Illustration by Sue Coe

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ten years ago, the CIA was an organization whose operations seemed awesome in their secrecy and their scope, its agents all the more formidable for their anonymity. When someone like the legendary Col. Edward G. Landsdale did become known, the fact that he slipped romantically between the intrigue-ridden back alleys of Saigon and the palace of the Diems, setting up programs for the South Vietnamese peasants and channeling millions of dollars of CIA money into clandestine operations against the NLF, only made his employer seem more potent and glamorous.

By the late 1960s the Agency's aura had begun to fade. Beginning with RAMPARTS' *1967 revelations that the National Student Association and other supposedly independent domestic institutions were in fact fronts for the CIA, the Agency was dragged more and more into the public view. Its stature diminished with each new* cause célèbre *until, far from being a collection of James Bonds, it seemed more a haven for Keystone Kops, unable to pull off their assignments without stumbling over one another.*

This is not to underestimate the CIA's capacity for terror and destruction. Yet it is evident that much of the Agency's impact has depended on the illusion of prowess it has been able to create. This illusion, plus an obsession with secrecy, have been the pillars on which its reputation was built. And this is why it has gone all out to censor Victor Marchetti, to stop the publication of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence.

* * *

Marchetti joined the Agency in 1955 after graduating with a degree in Russian history and culture from Penn State. Like others of his generation, he believed the myths of the Cold War, and for 15 years was a willing soldier in its battles. He eventually became one of the leading CIA analysts on Soviet military capacity and aid to the Third World, and worked from 1966 until 1969 in the Office of the Director, Central Intelligence.

Increasingly disillusioned with the CIA's practices and attitudes, Marchetti resigned in 1969. For the next couple of years he moved around Washington, finding others who had dropped out of the intelligence community, listening to their experiences and comparing them to his own. He decided then to write a book that would penetrate the mythology on which the operation of the CIA was based.

Yet before he had written the first sentence of the first chapter, the Agency knew of it. One of its agents in New York had managed to obtain a copy of the book outline Marchetti had submitted to several New York publishers. In April 1972 the CIA filed for an injunction to prohibit him from publishing anything about the Agency; then-Director Richard Helms swore in an affidavit that such a book would "cause grave and irreparable harm to the national defense interest of the United States and will seriously disrupt the conduct of the country's foreign relations." The heart of the Agency's position, however, was filed in an affidavit by the head of Clandestine Services, a document which was itself classified as "secret" and forbidden even to Marchetti's ACLU attorneys until four days before the trial.

Marchetti's legal team, including ACLU head Melvin Wulf, realized that this case had serious implications and assembled a series of expert witnesses including Princeton Professor Richard Falk and former Kissinger aide Morton Halperin. They were prepared to contest government allegations that the book Marchetti had not yet written was a threat to security. Yet when they came to court on May 15, 1972 they found that the issue was to be fought on the narrow ground of contract enforcement—the fact that Marchetti, like all who join the Agency, had signed a piece of paper agreeing never to talk about his work. The court ruled against Marchetti. Six months later the Supreme Court—which had recently decided against censorship in the Pentagon Papers case—refused by a 6-3 vote to consider Marchetti's appeal.

Yet Marchetti went ahead and wrote the book anyway, in collaboration with John Marks, a young foreign service officer who had worked in the State Department from 1966 until he wrote a pessimistic memo at the time of the 1970 Cambodia invasion. It took them nine months to complete the job, the difficulty of their labor compounded by the fact that they were enjoined from seeking editorial help from their publisher, Alfred A. Knopf.

* * *

In August 1973, Marchetti sent a draft of the manuscript to the CIA, which marked it TOP SECRET-SENSITIVE, read it, and agreed that it could be published—after some 339 cuts had been made, or roughly 20 percent of the entire book. In the negotiations which followed between Marchetti and his attorneys and the CIA, the Agency was forced to admit that many of the censored items were either in the public domain or so minor as to be ludicrous.

By February 1974 the CIA had reduced its demand to 168 cuts. Meanwhile, the matter had returned to court as Knopf, Marchetti and Marks vs. Colby and Kissinger, *and the CIA was finally hoisted on its own petard when it refused to bring in evidence to support the TOP SECRET classification it had attached to the 168 deletions. So obsessed with secrecy was the Agency that it refused to give the evidence that would back up its claims; and in the end the judge ruled that only 28 of the 168 cuts might be considered classified.*

The trial is not over. Marchetti, et al have appealed the decision that the CIA has any right whatsoever to censor the manuscript. But while that lengthy process is taking place, the decision was made to go ahead and publish the work with its 28 deletions, which are every bit as telling, and in the same spirit, as the 18½-minute-gap in a White House tape.

Even before its publication, The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence *has accomplished much of what it started to do, showing that the malevolence and imperiousness of the CIA is well tempered by bureaucratic ineptitude. Like all bullies its success is dependent on an inflated reputation.*

The Agency that has toppled governments cannot stop the publication of a book. Doubtless some will see this as another sign of the vitality of the American system, a sign of the long-range medicinal powers of the Constitution. Actually the lesson is simpler and more fundamental: Organizations like the CIA flourish in the dark and lose their powers when they are forced to operate in the daylight, when their true nature—and their banality—become overpoweringly clear. We owe thanks to Victor Marchetti, not least of all because he is the latest voice to protest that the emperor has no clothes. —*The Editors*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A few years ago *Newsweek* magazine described the CIA as the most secretive and tightly knit organization (with the possible exception of the Mafia) in American society. The characterization is something of an overstatement, but it contains more than a kernel of truth. In its golden era, during the height of the Cold War, the agency did possess a rare *élan*; it had a staff of imaginative and daring officers at all levels and in all directorates. But over the years the CIA has grown old, fat, and bureaucratic. The *esprit de corps* and devotion to duty its staff once had, setting the agency apart from other government departments, has faded, and to a great degree it has been replaced by an outmoded, doctrinaire approach to its missions and functions. The true purpose of secrecy—to keep the opposition in the dark about agency policies and operations—has been lost sight of. Today the CIA often practices secrecy for secrecy's sake—and to prevent the American public from learning of its activities. And the true purpose of intelligence collection—to monitor efficiently the moves of international adversaries—has been distorted by the need to nourish a collective clandestine ego.

After the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in 1970, a few hundred CIA employees (mostly younger officers from the Intelligence and Science and Technology directorates, *not* the Clandestine Services) signed a petition objecting to American policies in Indochina. Director Richard Helms was so concerned about the prospect of widespread unrest in the agency's ranks, and the chance that word of it might leak out to the public, that he summoned all the protestors to the main auditorium and lectured them on the need to separate their personal views from their professional duties. At the same time, similar demonstrations on the Cambodian issue were mounted at the State Department and other government agencies. Nearly every newspaper in the country carried articles about the incipient rebellion brewing in the ranks of the federal bureaucracy. The happenings at the CIA, which were potentially the most newsworthy of all, were, however, never discovered by the press. In keeping with the agency's clandestine traditions, CIA employees had conducted a secret protest.

To agency personnel who had had the need for secrecy drilled into them from their moment of recruitment, there was nothing strange about keeping their demonstration hidden from public view. Secrecy is an absolute way of life at the agency, and while outsiders might consider some of the resulting practices comical in the extreme, the subject is treated with great seriousness in the CIA. Training officers lecture new personnel for hours on end about "security consciousness," and these sessions are augmented during an employee's entire career by refresher courses, warning posters, and even the semi-annual requirement for each employee to review the agency's security rules and to sign a copy, as an indication it has been read. As a matter of course, outsiders should be told absolutely nothing about the CIA and fellow employees should be given only that information for which they have an actual "need to know." (The penchant for secrecy sometimes takes on an air of ludicrousness. Secret medals are awarded for outstanding performance, but they cannot be worn or shown outside the agency. Even athletic trophies—for intramural bowling, softball, and so on—cannot be displayed except within the guarded sanctuary of the headquarters building.)

CIA personnel become so accustomed to the rigorous security precautions (some of which are indeed justified) that they easily accept them all, and seldom are caught in violations. Nothing could be more natural than to work with a telephone book marked SECRET, an intentionally incomplete telephone book which lists no one working in the Clandestine Services and which in each semi-annually revised edition leaves out the names of many of the people employed by the overt directorates, so if the book ever falls into unauthorized hands, no enterprising foreign agent or reporter will be able to figure out how many people work at CIA headquarters, or even how many work in nonclandestine jobs. Those temporarily omitted can look forward to having their names appear in the next edition of the directory, at which time others are selected for telephonic limbo. Added to this confusion is the fact that most agency phone numbers are regularly changed for security reasons. Most employees manage to keep track of commonly called numbers by listing them in their own personal desk directories, although they have to be careful to lock these in their safes at night—or else risk being charged with a security violation. For a first violation the employee is given a reprimand and usually assigned to several weeks of security inspection in his or her office. Successive violations lead to forced vacation without pay for periods up to several weeks, or to outright dismissal.

Along with the phone books, all other classified material (including typewriter ribbons and scrap paper) is placed in office safes whenever the office is unoccupied. Security guards patrol every part of the agency at roughly half-hour intervals in the evening and on weekends to see that no secret documents have been left out, that no safes have been left unlocked, and that no spies are lurking in the halls. If a guard finds any classified material unsecured, both the person who failed to put it away and the person within the office who was assigned to double-check the premises have security violations entered in their personnel files.

These security precautions all take place inside a headquarters building that is surrounded by a twelve-foot fence topped with barbed wire, patrolled by armed guards and police dogs, and sealed off by a security check system that guarantees that no one can enter either the outer perimeter or the building itself without the proper identification. Each CIA employee is issued a laminated plastic badge with his picture on it, and these must not only be presented to the guards on entry, but be kept constantly in view within the building. Around the edges of the badge are twenty or so little boxes which may or may not be filled with red letters. Each letter signifies a special security clearance held by the owner. Certain offices at the CIA are designated as restricted, and only persons holding the proper clearance, as marked on their badges, can gain entry. These areas are usually guarded by an agency policeman sitting inside a glass cage, from which he controls a turnstile that forbids

Copyright © 1974 by Victor L. Marchetti and John D. Marks. From *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* to be published by Knopf.

by Victor Marchetti and John Marks

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

passage to unauthorized personnel. Particularly sensitive offices are protected, in addition to the guarded turnstile, by a combination or cipher lock which must be opened by the individual after the badge is inspected.

Even a charwoman at the CIA must gain security clearance in order to qualify for the badge that she, too, must wear at all times; then she must be accompanied by an armed guard while she cleans offices (where all classified material has presumably been locked up). Some rooms at the agency are considered so secret that the charwoman and her guard must also be watched by someone who works in the office.

The pervasive secrecy extends everywhere. Cards placed on agency bulletin boards offering items for sale conclude: "Call Bill, extension 6464." Neither clandestine nor overt CIA employees are permitted to have their last names exposed to the scrutiny of their colleagues, and it was only in 1973 that employees were allowed to answer their phones with any words other than those signifying the four-digit extension number.

Also until recent years all CIA personnel were required to identify themselves to non-agency people as employees of the State or Defense Department or some other outside organization. Now the analysts and technicians are permitted to say they work for the agency, although they cannot reveal their particular office. Clandestine Service employees are easily spotted around Washington because they almost always claim to be employed by Defense or State, but usually are extremely vague on the details and unable to furnish an office address. They do sometimes give out a phone number which corresponds to the correct exchange for their cover organization, but these extensions, through some deft wiring, ring at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

[THE AGENCY'S EMPIRE]

The headquarters building, located on a partially wooded 125-acre tract eight miles from downtown Washington, is a modernistic fortress-like structure. Until the spring of 1973 one of the two roads leading into the secluded compound was totally unmarked, and the other featured a sign identifying the installation as the Bureau of Public Roads, which maintains the Fairbanks Highway Research Station adjacent to the agency.

Until 1961 the CIA had been located in a score of buildings scattered all over Washington. One of the principal justifications for the $46 million headquarters in the suburbs was that considerable expense would be saved by moving all employees under one roof. But in keeping with the best-laid bureaucratic plans, the headquarters building, from the day it was completed, proved too small for all the CIA's Washington activities. The agency never vacated some of its old headquarters buildings hidden behind a naval medical facility on 23rd Street Northwest in Washington, and its National Photo Interpretation Center shares part of the Navy's facilities in Southeast Washington. Other large CIA offices located downtown include the Domestic Operations Division, on Pennsylvania Avenue near the White House.

In Washington's Virginia suburbs there are even more CIA buildings outside the headquarters complex. An agency training facility is located in the Broyhill Building in Arlington, and the CIA occupies considerable other office space in that county's Rosslyn section. Also at least half a dozen CIA components are located in the Tyson's Corner area of northern Virginia, which has become something of a mini-intelligence community for technical work due to the presence there of numerous electronics and research companies that do work for the agency and the Pentagon.

(Of course the list of CIA facilities would be much longer if it included covert sites across the U.S.--a paramilitary base in North Carolina, secret air bases in Nevada and Arizona, scores of "dummy" commercial organizations and airlines, operational offices in more than twenty major cities, a huge arms warehouse in the Midwest, and "safe houses" for rendezvous in Washington and other cities.)

The rapid expansion of CIA office space in the last ten years did not happen as a result of any appreciable increase in personnel. Rather, the technological explosion, coupled with inevitable bureaucratic lust for new frontiers, has been the cause. As Director, Richard Helms paid little attention to the diffusion of his agency until one day in 1968 when a CIA official mentioned to him that yet one more technical component was moving to Tyson's Corner. For some reason this aroused Helms' ire, and he ordered a study prepared to find out just how much of the agency was located outside of headquarters. The completed report told him what most Wahsington-area real-estate agents already knew, that a substantial percentage of CIA employees had vacated the building originally justified to Congress as necessary to put all personnel under one roof. Helms decreed that all future moves would require his personal approval, but his action slowed the exodus only temporarily.

When the CIA headquarters building was being constructed during the late 1950s, the subcontractor responsible for putting in the heating and air-conditioning system asked the agency how many people the structure was intended to accomodate. For security reasons, the agency refused to tell him, and he was forced to make his own estimate based on the building's size. The resulting heating system worked reasonably well, while the air-conditioning was quite uneven. After initial complaints in 1961, the contractor installed an individual thermostat in each office, but so many agency employees were continually readjusting their thermostats that the system got worse. The M&S Directorate then decreed that the thermostats could no longer be used, and each one was sealed up. However, the M&S experts had not considered that the CIA was a clandestine agency, and that many of its personnel had taken a "locks and picks" course while in training. Most of the thermostats were soon unlocked and back in operation.

At this point the CIA took the subcontractor to court to force him to make improvements. His defense was that he had installed the best system he could without a clear indication of how many people would occupy the building. The CIA could not counter this reasoning and lost the decision.

Another unusual feature of the CIA headquarters is the cafeteria. It is partitioned into a secret and an open section, the larger part being only for agency employees, who must show their badges to the armed guards before entering, and the smaller being for visitors as well as people who work at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the CIA. Although the only outsiders ever to enter the small, dismal section are employees of other U.S. government agencies, representatives of a few friendly governments, and CIA families, the partition ensures that no visitor will see the face of any clandestine operator eating lunch.

The CIA's "supergrades" (civilian equivalents of generals) have their own private dining room in the executive suite, however. There they are provided higher-quality food at lower prices than in the cafeteria, served on fine china with fresh linens by black waiters in immaculate white coats. These waiters and the executive cooks are regular CIA employees, in contrast to the cafeteria personnel, who work for a contractor. On several occasions the Office of Management and Budget has questioned the high cost of this private dining room, but the agency has always been able to fend off the attacks, as it fends off virtually all attacks on its activities, by citing "national security" reasons as the major justification.

["THE LAST BASTION"]

Questions of social class and snobbery have always been very important in the CIA. With its roots in the wartime Office of Strategic Services (the letters OSS were said, only half-jokingly, to stand for "Oh So Social"), the agency has long been known for its concentration of Eastern Establishment, Ivy League types. Allen Dulles, a former American diplomat and Wall Street lawyer with impeccable connections and credentials, set the tone for an agency full of Roosevelts, Bundys, Cleveland Amory's brother Robert, and other scions of America's leading families. There have been exceptions, to be sure, but most of the CIA's top leaders have been white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, and graduates of the right Eastern schools. While changing times and ideas have diffused the influence of the Eastern élite throughout the government as a whole, the CIA remains perhaps the last bastion in official Washington of WASP power, or at least the slowest to adopt the principle of equal opportunity.

It was no accident that former Clandestine Services chief Richard Bissell (Groton, Yale, A.B., Ph.D., London School of Economics, A.B.) was talking to a Council on Foreign Relations discussion group in 1968 when he made his "confidential" speech on covert action. For the influential but private Council, composed of several hundred of the country's top political, military, business, and academic leaders, has long been the CIA's principal "constituency" in the American public. When the agency has needed prominent citizens to front for its proprietary companies or for other special assistance, it has often turned to Council members. Bissell knew that night in 1968 that he could talk freely and openly about extremely sensitive subjects because he was among "friends." His words leaked out not because of the indiscretion of any of the participants, but because of student upheavals at Harvard in 1971.

It may well have been the sons of CFR members or CIA officials who ransacked the office housing the minutes of Bissell's speech, and therein lies the changing nature of the CIA (and the Eastern Establishment, for that matter). Over the last decade the attitudes of the young people, who in earlier times would have followed their fathers or their fathers' college roommates into the CIA, have changed drastically. With the Vietnam War as a catalyst, the agency has become, to a large extent, discredited in the traditional Eastern schools and colleges. And consequently the CIA has been forced to alter its recruiting base. No longer do Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and a few other Eastern schools provide the bulk of the agency's professional recruits, or even a substantial number.

For the most part, Ivy Leaguers do not want to join the agency, and the CIA now does its most fruitful recruiting at the universities of middle America and in the armed forces. While the shift unquestionably reflects increasing democratization in American government, the CIA made the change not so much voluntarily as because it had no other choice if it wished to fill its ranks. If the "old boy" network cannot be replenished, some officials believe, it will be much more difficult to enlist the aid of American corporations and generally to make use of influential "friends" in the private and public sectors.

Despite the comparatively recent broadening of the CIA's recruiting base, the agency is not now and has never been an equal-opportunity employer. The agency has one of the smallest percentages—if not *the* smallest—of blacks of any federal department. The CIA's top management had this forcefully called to their attention in 1967 when a local civil-rights activist wrote to the agency to complain about minority hiring practices. A study was ordered at that time, and the CIA's highest-ranking black was found to be a GS-13 (the rough equivalent of an Army major). Altogether, there were less than twenty blacks among the CIA's approximately **12,000*** non-clerical employees, and even the proportion of black secretaries, clerks, and other non-professionals was considerably below that of most Washington-area government agencies. One might attribute this latter fact to the agency's suburban location, but blacks were notably well represented in the guard and char forces.

Top officials seemed surprised by the results of the 1967 study because they did not consider themselves prejudiced men. They ordered increased efforts to hire more blacks, but these were not particularly successful. Young black college graduates in recent years have shied away from joining the agency, some on political grounds and others because of the more promising opportunities available in the private sector. Furthermore, the CIA recruiting system could not easily be changed to bring in minorities. Most of the "spotting" of potential employees is done by individual college professors who are either friends or consultants of the agency, and they are located on predominantly white campuses where each year they hand-pick a few carefully selected students for the CIA.

The paucity of minority groups in the CIA goes well beyond blacks, however. In 1964 the agency's Inspector General did a routine study of the Office of National Estimates (ONE). The Inspector found no black, Jewish, or women professionals, and only a few Catholics. ONE immediately took steps to bring in minorities. One woman

(Continued on page 48)

*** The figure is in boldface to indicate one of 339 items the CIA attempted to censor before publication of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (see page 22).**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Health Insurance:

The Care and Feeding of Medi-Business

The idea of national health insurance came in with a bang in the early Seventies. By 1971 no fewer than 13 bills representing every major interest in the health system, and ranging from the all-encompassing Kennedy-labor bill to the very minimal AMA Medicredit bill, were facing Congress. Many predicted that national health insurance would be a reality within a year or two, and certainly it would be a major issue in the 1972 presidential campaign.

Yet prophecy is a risky vocation and suddenly it seemed like the fires under national health insurance had died out. It was hardly mentioned in the 1972 campaign. Only in 1974 did it begin once more to gain momentum.

Why is national health insurance (NHI) once again on the legislative agenda? Is it because over 20 million people have no private or governmental insurance at all? Because private insurance and Medicare pay only 40 percent of the average person's health bill, often leaving hundreds or thousands of dollars in expenses not covered when sickness strikes? Because medical bills are the number one cause of personal bankruptcy in the U.S. today?

No. NHI has other functions. On the simplest level, it could be a feather in someone's political cap—for Nixon, desperately looking for a visible social program to save his skin, or for Kennedy, uncertainly eying the top job. For the AMA and insurance companies, 1974 is a good year for NHI because 1975 could bring a far more liberal Congress and therefore a more threatening bill. And in the form now presented, NHI is a boondoggle for the medical-industrial complex—the hospitals, insurance companies, nursing homes, medical supply and hospital construction industries, and all the other corporations that profit from sickness and death.

But aside from these non-health considerations, will NHI make good health care more accessible to the majority of Americans? Will it at least reduce sickness and pain until a more sane health-care system comes of age? The answer can only be a very weak "perhaps."

by Ronda Kotelchuck and Thomas Bodenheimer

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[A MELANCHOLY HISTORY]

For most of us, national health insurance is a thick and confusing stack of documents containing endless legal and financial terms. But behind the fine print lie concepts that are more important than the details of the bills themselves. To appreciate these concepts, it's worth taking a look at the history and present structure of health care finances.

The concept of national health insurance has been around for a long time. Almost 100 years ago European governments began to pay for the health care of their citizens. In the United States a small group of liberal professionals started the fight for NHI in 1912. But by 1920 the idea had been killed by insurance companies, AMA doctors and conservative labor leaders.

A second round of NHI discussion began with the social security legislation of the 1930s. At least ten proposals reached Congress between 1939 and 1950. In 1949 the AMA, fearing government control over doctors' fees, hired the public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter to wage a nationwide advertising campaign. Building on the intense McCarthyism of the period, Whitaker and Baxter equated NHI with socialism and placed full-page ads in newspapers and magazines that pictured Government destroying the sacred doctor-patient relationship. The AMA shelled out $5 million in successful advertising and lobbying, and NHI remained a dead issue throughout most of the 1950s.

In spite of inaction on national health insurance, the health care system as a whole changed markedly by 1960. Through the Forties and Fifties, a giant private health insurance industry came into being, composed of Blue Cross, Blue Shield and commercial companies such as Aetna, Occidental and Connecticut General. These companies offer considerable hospital protection to working families who can afford to buy policies and are in a generally healthy age group. But the companies fail to pay most medical bills outside the hospital. And people who fall chronically ill or lose their jobs lose their insurance as well.

Low-income people, of course, can't afford insurance, and the companies don't want to insure the elderly because of their high rate of illness. So a new drive for national health insurance began around 1960, concentrating on the poor and the elderly. In 1965 Congress passed Medicare for those over 65 and Medicaid for people unable to work.

Medicare takes money from people's paychecks, under Social Security, and uses it to pay medical bills of the elderly. Medicare is limited, paying on the average only half of these bills. Though a step forward for people who pile up thousands of dollars in hospital costs, it ignores a sizeable portion of the bills charged in doctors' offices. People over 65 pay an average of $400-500 each year in medical bills not covered by Medicare. With the rise in medical costs over the last decade, that is more than the average senior citizen paid in total health costs before Medicare was passed.

Medicaid must also be judged harshly, for it has failed to meet the needs of the 40 million poor people in the country (the government defines "poor" as a family of four earning less than $4,300). More than 20 million of them are not covered at all. Those who are covered receive limited services. And Medicaid patients have a hard time finding doctors and dentists who will see them. In one Los Angeles county hospital, 23 percent of outpatients switched to private doctors right after Medicaid was passed, but 12 months later most of these patients chose to come back to the county hospital. Other studies confirm that private medicine has failed to care for many of the poor even when paid to do so. Yet city and county hospitals, which used to treat people free, increasingly are charging for their services. (See "Hospitals for Sale," RAMPARTS, February 1974.) Thus low-income people may actually have a harder time finding care than they did before Medicaid arrived.

Medicare and Medicaid have been principal causes of skyrocketing medical costs. Hospitals, doctors and nursing homes are allowed to decide how much to charge, and they are paid through private insurance intermediaries, usually Blue Cross and Blue Shield, who make no attempt to control these charges. The first year after Medicare and Medicaid started, hospital costs were up 19 percent and doctor fees 7 percent. In the first six years of the programs, medical prices increased by over 40 percent compared to an increase of 20 percent in the six years before the programs started. And the fees didn't go up just for Medicare and Medicaid patients: they rose for all of us.

Medicare and Medicaid were a financial shot in the arm for the health industry. Doctors' average incomes now top $40,000, with many specialists earning over $100,000. The insurance intermediaries expanded their business by $10 billion a year, including several hundred million for "administrative expenses." This means high executive salaries (Blue Cross President Walter McNerney earns $80,000), new buildings, newspaper and radio ads and Congressional lobbying. Medical equipment and drug companies increased their sales and profits. Nursing home stocks boomed. Hospitals added on new beds at a rate three times greater than the population increase. As a result, 25 percent of hospital beds are now empty, upping the rates to all patients.

In short, Medicare and Medicaid—our country's first taste of national health insurance—though designed to help the patient, have largely profited doctors, hospitals and medical businesses.

[NIXON'S "HEALTH" PLAN]

Although a broad range of national health insurance bills floated through Congress in 1971, by 1974 the processes of political compromise were well at work. Three bills—that of the Nixon Administration, Long-Ribicoff, and Kennedy-Mills—emerged as front-runners, with their similarities far greater than their differences. The final NHI law will be a mixture of various bills, rather than the passage of one. And NHI won't arrive in one big leap; it's likely to come step by step over the next decade. But to understand the concepts behind NHI, a closer look at the Nixon bill is most useful.

Nixon's plan is called the Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan (CHIP), and its intent is to enable each American to buy a private health insurance policy covering a specific set of medical services—if he or she wishes, and can afford it. CHIP would make insurance available through three programs. Under the Employee Health Insurance Plan (EHIP),

Illustration by Sandy Huffaker

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

full-time employees could purchase health insurance by paying 35 percent of the estimated $600 annual premium for a family of four (approximately $210), while employers would be required to contribute the rest. (Later the employee share would decrease to 25 percent.) Under the Assisted Health Insurance Plan (AHIP), the poor, unemployed, and those considered high medical risks could purchase health insurance with premiums subsidized on a graduated scale, according to income. Finally, the elderly could purchase premiums, again with government assistance according to income, in an expanded Medicare program.

Unfortunately, the Comprehensive Health Insurance Plan itself is not nearly as impressive as its name. First of all, it does *not* automatically guarantee health insurance to everyone. Instead, it is completely voluntary; only if people join and pay their share of premium costs will they be covered. Hence it promises to leave large numbers of people uncovered. First to fall between the cracks will be the marginally-employed and part-time workers. EHIP does not require employers to offer health insurance until employees have worked 90 days, and does not require coverage of part-time workers at all. Such workers may seek insurance through AHIP, but only by paying much of the $600 premium themselves. This will surely act as an incentive for employers to hire part-time workers and those who do not require health insurance.

In addition, the cost of purchasing health insurance will fall most heavily on lower-income workers, who in a financial pinch may decide to risk not being insured. And many elderly may actually stand to lose under Nixon's new program. Presently Medicare provides hospitalization automatically, and if elderly persons want coverage for physician cost in addition, they must pay a premium of $6.30 a month. Under CHIP *all* health insurance coverage for the elderly will be voluntary and will depend upon payment of premiums.

In fact, CHIP is not really health insurance at all. It is primarily catastrophic illness insurance—that is, useful mainly when families or individuals have a devastating illness that would otherwise result in catastrophic debts. This aid is not insignificant, since illness is the primary cause of personal bankruptcy in this country. But CHIP pretends to offer much more, an offer on which it cannot deliver.

CHIP incorporates a system of out-of-pocket payments which make it unlikely that the ordinary, healthy family will benefit from its insurance. In addition to the initial $210 a year that a family must pay for its premium, it must also pay the first $150 of medical expenses *per family member* (called a deductible), up to a total of $450 per year. Thus the family could end up spending $660 before receiving any assistance whatever from its health insurance. The same is true of CHIP's drug benefits. Consumers benefit only after paying the first $50 for drugs each year. Once a family has spent $450, it's still not home free. It must still pay 25 percent of the succeeding costs (called co-insurance) up to a maximum of $1500. Only then does CHIP take over and pay all costs. (For the poor—individuals making less than $5,000 per year and families making less than $7,000—co-insurance and deductibles are graduated according to income, although co-insurance never drops below 10 percent.)

This system of deductibles and co-insurance is called cost sharing by the government. It is designed to act as a "disincentive"—to discourage consumers from misusing or overusing the health system and to create an incentive for them to seek out the least expensive care. This analysis, of course, ignores the fact that a sick person is not like a grocery shopper. A sick person has little to say about when he needs services, what kind, and which facilities he uses. The system also gives the lie to CHIP's supposed concern for preventive and pediatric medicine; a child could take advantage of preventive benefits only after having been sick enough to require the first $150 in medical expenses.

Clearly, health-care financing under CHIP would be enormously regressive, particularly for the lower-income worker. The estimated $210 employee share of premium cost would be the same for the $7,000-a-year worker and the $70,000-a-year executive, even though it comprises 3 percent of the worker's salary and 0.3 percent of the executive's salary.Likewise, the maximum out-of-pocket expense of $1,500 would be 21 percent of this worker's income—easily enough to throw a family into bankruptcy—while it would be only 2 percent of the executive's income.

Even when benefits were ultimately paid, CHIP would not be free at the point of delivery, nor would it guarantee one class of care. These promises were undercut by a provision that would certify providers as fully participating, associate participating or non-participating. Associate participating providers (excluding institutions) would be free to charge EHIP patients (wage-earners) direct, individual fees above and beyond those paid for by their insurance. For EHIP patients, this would make a sham of services being free at the point of delivery or of their having a maximum liability for medical expenses. For the poor and elderly, it would mean discrimination as usual, since they would clearly be less profitable to treat than EHIP patients.

CHIP would come down hard on the consumer who defaults on his out-of-pocket costs. It would guarantee that he gets no care whatsoever. Presently, if a patient has outstanding bills, a particular hospital or doctor may turn him away. But he can still seek services from other providers. Under CHIP all services would be paid for through a medical "credit card" issued by a private health insurance company and all out-of-pocket expenses would be owed that company. CHIP would allow the company to cancel a "credit card" if debts are not paid within 90 days, thus cutting off access to all participating medical services.

Finally, administration of CHIP's "national" health insurance would not really be national. The federal role would be limited to establishing eligibility standards, defining the benefit package, and administering Medicare—as it does now. Left to individual states would be such crucial issues as regulation of insurance companies, review of rates received by insurance companies and medical providers, certification of providers and administration of cost-control mechanisms. The federal government would have to approve state plans for doing these things, but with 50 separate state plans and administrations, problems of federal supervision would be unspeakably complex. And states would apparently have the option of deciding whether they even wished to participate in CHIP.

(Continued on page 54)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I.

Death of an Illusion

"America's past is no longer a guide to its future. The people sense this even if the politicians do not. The feeling is widespread that the nation has committed fundamental errors for which it must now pay."

Throughout the country there is deep disquiet. The mood is not of panic, nor even of tangible fear. It is, rather, a general anxiety, a growing sense that something has gone very wrong with the United States and that, whatever it is, it lies deep in the foundations and is becoming worse.

Watergate, of course, contributes to the unease, with its sorry exposure of the miserable, corrupt inner workings of the political process, and the visible deterioration in constitutional relations between the Congress and the Presidency. Of themselves, these are enough to anger and bewilder a people. Yet the nation seems to sense that these are not causes but consequences, symptoms of a deeper malaise.

America's past is no longer by simple repetition a guide to its future. The people sense this even if the politicians do not. The feeling is widespread that, not only recently but over many years past, the nation has committed fundamental errors for which it must now pay, politically and economically. The people will pay the price—sullenly perhaps, but pay it nonetheless—if the nation's problems are presented to them in their reality, and if the need for sacrifices and changes which events will demand of them is clearly demonstrated. But instead, in the excitement of the constitutional crisis, the real problems of the nation—the fundamental, non-transient issues—go almost undiscussed.

Matters are not helped when the Vice-President of the United States bumbles out that, if the citizens express their alarm electorally, a "legislative dictatorship" might result—however *that* might be construed. (Were it not unthinkable, one could suspect that Mr. Ford had dipped too deeply into Plato.) Nor is the public assisted towards understanding when Senators Kennedy, Mondale, et al, hoist up their pole the discredited banner of tax reduction, of priming the pump, as a universal solvent for social diseases. The old cliches are being revived by the Democrats, the disproven nostrums spooned out.

The truly frightening reality is that the alternatives currently presented are the Democrats' policy of fostered inflation, obscured by the technical manipulation of statistics, and the Republicans' policy of unrestrained power to the big corporations (with their grotesque and insatiable lust for profits). That the electorate will repudiate the latter

by Terence McCarthy

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The American way by which wealth is measured, the vast deception of the GNP, translates into increasing national wealth every increase in waste. The greater the waste, the greater the wealth. Waste *is* wealth."

seems quite sure. Never have America's corporations been in so low a repute as they are today—and never before have the corporations had the blustering impertinence to demand not billions but hundreds of billions of dollars of *increased* profits for the years ahead to finance what they call meeting the needs of the future—*their* future, of course.

The possibility cannot be dismissed that, in repudiating the Republican Party and what it stands for, the citizens may also come to reject the Democratic Party. Every major inflation in history has brought into question the viability of democratic or quasi-democratic governmental forms. In every instance, from Julius Caesar through Mussolini and Hitler, rampant inflation has first created crypto-populist movements, then has transformed them into vicious oppressions. If the American inflation accelerates, there is no guarantee that an identical result will not be produced in this country. The Kennedy-Mondale proposals are devices whereby, however unintended, exactly such an acceleration of inflation might be produced. The Democrats heap Ossa upon Pelion in the vain attempt to scale Olympus, Jovelike to wave social problems out of existence with one sweep of a facile hand clutching not thunderbolts but paper dollars.

I stress that the results would be unintended. How could they be otherwise? The people have been deceived—and self-deceived—these 30 years or more. Their delusion, fostered by a generation of bourgeois economists and liberal legislators, has been that, as though by law of nature, the American economy could not but swoop upwards ceaselessly. By logical extension, the idea grew that computers would do the thinking, make the decisions, run the machines, repair the machines, and relieve *homo americanus* of the need to toil, to choose, to sacrifice, perhaps to ponder. Ultimately, the computer would learn to modify itself. It could already, in hours, solve mathematical problems whose solution no mathematician could complete in a lifetime. It had made it possible for men to walk on the surface of the moon. There was nothing it could not do, and therefore nothing Americans could not have. All that was required was time, and not very much of that. Many radical youths, in the 1960s, grew convinced of this. Work had become unnecessary. As Jesse Gray then said, "There is no reason why everybody should not live on welfare."

[ECONOMICS AND UNREASON]

Some of the results were odd in the extreme and added enormously to confusion. Economics, the management of the social household, ceased altogether to be a branch of social analysis and became an exercise in elementary calculus and the mensuration of instantaneous functions—devoid of historical content, and in the mechanistic certainty of its practitioners, guaranteeing dangerous miscalculations because of failure to anticipate changes in the social context within which they theorized.

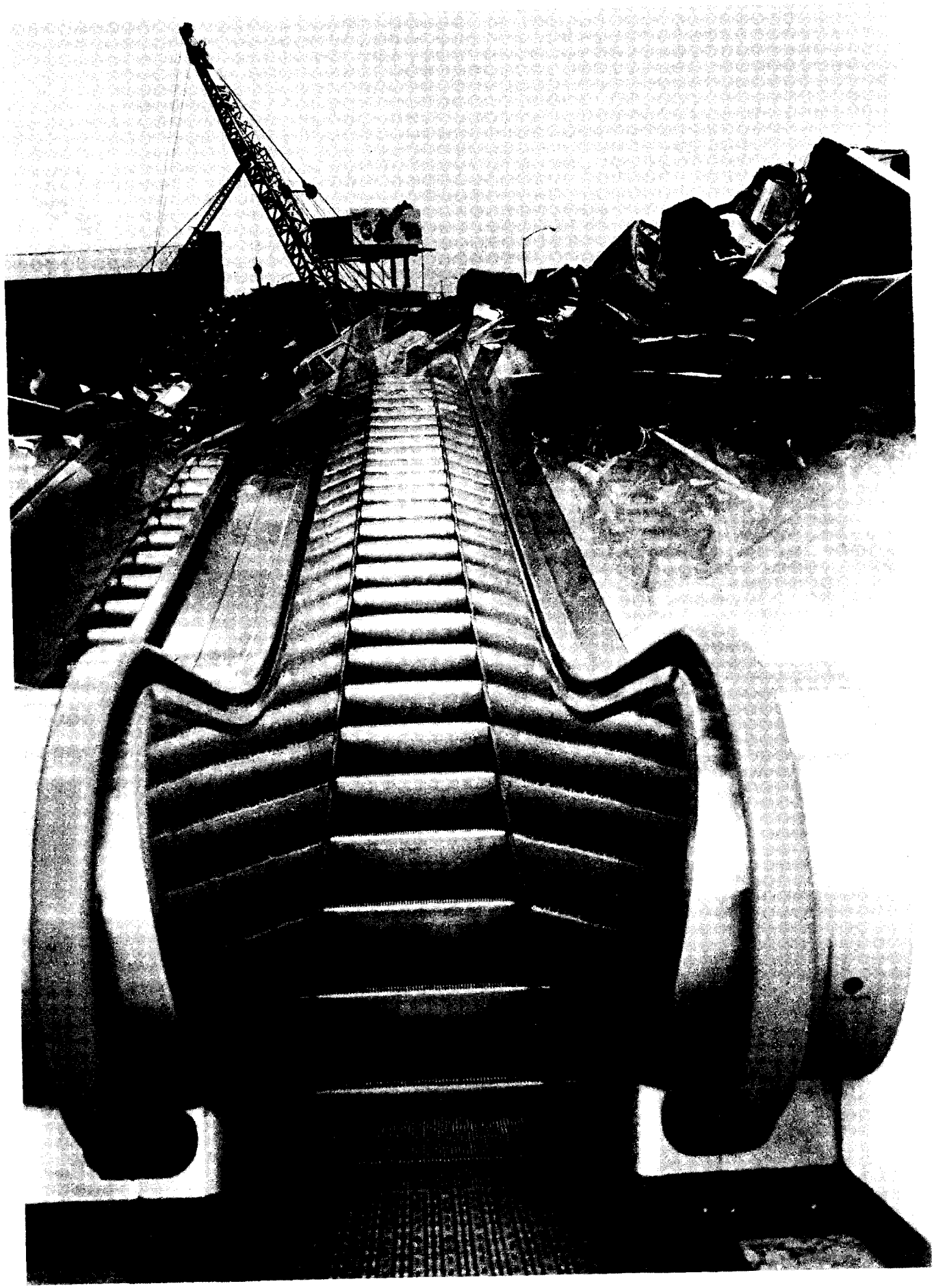
There is now a new obscurantism in economic terminology: stagflation. What it purports to describe is a condition of industrial stagnation in the presence of a generalized inflation. The fundamental measure employed is the Gross National Product (GNP) which claims to quantify the total value of the nation's output of goods and services. What it actually measures, however, is the cost of running the country, which it equates with the goods and services produced even if the output vanishes in the instant of its production and regardless of whether it benefits or injures the society or the world. (Atom bombs are heating elements; poison gas is pest control.) It is a sleight of hand which deceives the performer but not the audience, which simply flounders.

Let us look at what is happening. The wholesale price index of 22 sensitive commodities as of April 13, 1974, was 50.4 percent higher than on April 14, 1973 and in March, for all products, was estimated at 19.2 percent above one year earlier; farm products, 22.4 percent; processed food and feeds, 15.3 percent; industrial products about 19.5 percent. Price inflation, beyond a doubt—the Consumer Price Index rising 10.2 percent in 12 months. The Federal Reserve Board (FRB) Index of Industrial Production, including output by utilities, in March 1974 was only 0.16 percent higher than March 1973. Stagnation, apparently. Hence, stagflation.

That, however, is not really what happened. In response to appeals and allocations by government, much waste was eliminated from the system—wasted gasoline, wasted heat, wasted electricity, all sorts of waste. With few exceptions, and those mainly regional, no major new shortages were experienced other than briefly, although prices soared under the pretense of shortages. Whatever the proportion of waste in the system, the shortages experienced made no appreciable dent in it. The waste was, and is still, prodigious. Assume, for example, that annual model changeovers in automobiles were forever abandoned, and that cars were built so that their average life before trade-in was, say, six years. Assume also that hydraulic or other shock-absorbing bumpers were to be introduced on all cars and the 55-mile per hour speed limit made permanent. The result, in round figures, would be a sustained decline in automobile output of perhaps 30 percent with no loss of utility or social value to the nation or to the driving public. Consumption of petroleum would experience a net decline, and so with steel, etc., etc.

What, then, would happen? The GNP and the FRB Index of Production would each dwindle without one iota of loss in real wealth production or in personal transportation amenities. Highway safety could be permanently higher,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forcing down car repair and accident insurance payments, again decreasing the mythical GNP. Roads would need less maintenance, causing further decline in GNP and—in the cement, steel, etc., components—an additional reduction in the FRB Index of product output. By the statistical standards employed today, large segments of industry would be in slump. Yet the nation's output of useable, consumable wealth would not be reduced. A case can be made, in fact, that wealth as measured by human and social satisfactions would be increased. Human longevity would certainly rise as highway fatalities were diminished. But under the GNP concept highway deaths increase the output of national wealth: undertakers, coroners, insurance companies, court stenographers, all add their bit to further inflating this total national output of what is called wealth. Death is life.

The GNP concept is manifestly false, and destructive of rationality. In pursuit of ever higher GNP, even deflated by an index of price changes, America is pursuing not social objectives but numbers, and numbers can be expanded to infinity whether or not social values result. One of the real dangers of the GNP illusion is that it can produce public alarm if, by minimizing wastage, more rational use of human and material resources causes GNP to fall. If this should happen in two consecutive quarters it is called a recession and in government, the universities, industry, and the world of finance, panic ensues that this recession might degenerate into a depression. God is a number. Pray that he grow not less.

[AN AMERICAN DELUSION]

In fact, it is exactly this fear which we are experiencing at the moment. Reduction of waste is producing the *delusion* (among those who choose to delude themselves, especially Neo-Keynesians) of a fall in the output of real wealth. No such fall is occurring. Social amenity is *increasing* because unnecessary output in specific areas of the economy is *decreasing.* Simultaneously, irreplaceable resources, both here and abroad, are being conserved for future use, perhaps in ways beyond our present imagining and to social advantages which we cannot now conceive. The United States, and the world, are being enriched by the reduction in wastage in U.S. industrial output.

There is, of course, a consequent rise in unemployment to at least 6.1 percent of the blue collar labor force, an 11 percent rise in this unemployment rate in 12 months. Note, however, that there is a simultaneous decrease in unemployment of white collar workers from 2.9 percent in March 1973 to 2.8 percent a year later. This is a basic characteristic of the American economy of which I warned in the November 1973 issue of RAMPARTS. Also, government employment has risen by 442,000. The consequence: a false appearance of falling productivity of labor and, cynically, a corresponding boost in prices to offset supposedly higher unit-labor costs.

Broadly speaking, the U.S. population is divided into four great subdivisions: those who do nothing but consume (children, pensioners, coupon clippers, speculators, and those who live on rents, dividends, and mortgages); blue collar workers (including farmers and farm laborers) who produce every physical product we consume or export, excluding physical imports; white collar workers who produce no tangible products except numbers or memoranda; and service employees, many of whose functions are of dubious social value. (This is not to say that all white collar and service functions are valueless. It is to say that *all* of them must be immediately supported by the physical output of production workers.) The number of people employed in production of physical products was 24.1 million in March 1974 compared with 23.9 million one year earlier. This represented 31.5 percent of the total non-agricultural labor force, and included its own white collar component. Some 68.5 percent of the employed non-farm labor force produced no physical product and had no direct relation to production of goods.

The actual proportion is even larger. In manufacturing, in February 1974, there were 19.9 million people employed of whom 27.5 percent were non-production or non-supervisory workers. The real number of non-production workers in the economy, and its relation to the total of employment, cannot be calculated. Nor are we able, except by application of arbitrary standards, to distinguish in any meaningful sense between useful and useless, productive and unproductive labors. We do not even trouble ourselves to attempt this because we have no social standards of value except money. It is for this very reason that employment is defined as being in receipt of an income paid other than as pensions, annuities, welfare, or returns on capital. Absurd? Obviously, but there is no other measure feasible in a society which implicitly defines as a useful occupation anything not forbidden by law. Even here, one wonders about the definition. If the criterion is the provision of satisfactions, why is the drug pusher or the bookie not included among the employed labor force? In fact, for purposes of tax evasion prosecution, they are so included.

The American way by which wealth is measured, the vast deception of the GNP, not only does not distinguish between useful and useless labors, nor isolate those which produce positive injury from those which yield defined social benefits; it actually translates into increasing national wealth each increase in wastage in the society. The greater the waste, the greater the wealth. Waste *is* wealth. Unemployment does not mean that somebody is doing nothing, but that somebody is not being paid. If he is paid, no matter how self-consuming and useless his labors, he is employed and the GNP is enlarged thereby. The more he is paid, the higher the GNP even when what he is paid is transferred to him immediately out of the wages of production workers. Both get paid, and the transferred income is counted twice in the GNP system of national accounts—and the higher the sum paid by a production worker for, say, medical services, the larger the GNP even if the medical service rendered remains unchanged. (This issue was raised by Eugen Varga, a member of the Soviet Academy of Science, in the July 1957 issue of *Fortune,* as part of a debate which unfortunately was neglected by the academic community in the days when economic theorizing in this country was beginning to approach its present sterility.)

With this GNP system of national accounting, labor displaced from employment by the practice of social economy would have a negative effect upon GNP and national income. GNP would fall, and the nation would shudder. Yet

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"For years the principal export of the U.S. was inflation. But this ended in 1973, when foreign central banks declared the dollar an unwanted asset. Since then, inflation within the U.S. has become inevitable."

it can be theorized that, if all labor displaced from employment by social economy were to be continued on payrolls at its accustomed weekly wage, the society would still gain a net benefit by the reduction in waste, i.e., by increased saving of physical resources. One simply cannot measure what numbers of unemployed would be involved if all wastage in physical products were able to be, and were, eliminated. The GNP, it is obvious, would shrink catastrophically if the society were conducted more rationally. The opportunities for elimination of waste (waste being the main component of today's GNP) are enormous, but the GNP computations could not survive wise, planned use of resources and manpower.

[CRIMINAL WASTE]

Let us examine the petroleum case. Nobody can estimate the real quantity of underground petroleum reserves which underly the continental United States. What we do know is that with today's manner of employment of petroleum, and today's methods of extraction from the earth, the average recovery rate at the wellhead is 31 percent of the underground resources. Of that recovered, it has been estimated that 25 percent is used in heat generation for the cracking-refining process, yielding a deliverable product equal to about 23 percent of underground petroleum. In the case of transportation uses, the final net output of useable energy (after losses from friction, heat, waste in combustion, etc.) approximates 25 percent of the input into transportation. In short, with no allowance for wasted mileage in unnecessary or duplicated transport functions, petroleum energy utilized in transportation approximates 5.7 to 6 percent of the original underground deposits from which it is drawn. How inept can one become in the use of resources? In this specific case, at least 94 percent of original petroleum deposits cannot be recovered from the earth by today's methods, is used up in petroleum treatment itself, or is lost as waste heat and friction in the internal combustion engine.

All other aspects of the petroleum question are insignificant compared with this. In electrical generation from oil energy, the average generator operates at about 41 percent utilization of its heat-energy input. Direct utilization of the energy content of electric power supplied to the home probably does not exceed, and may be less than, 70 percent of the power supplied. Which means that household use of electricity supplied by oil-fired generator systems cannot exceed today 8.75 percent of the initial energy content of the underground resources of petroleum. More than 91 percent of nature's provision of hydrocarbon energy is not utilized by us even in our own intended ways, and these ways may themselves be wasteful.

Can the nation—can the world—afford to discard 90+ percent of nature's provision of hydrocarbon energy? The answer is affirmative, for 30-40 years. Thereafter, there may be *no* recoverable underground oil pools. Hence the haste to build unproven nuclear reactors. Why? Because petroleum is not looked upon in the United States as a national or a world resource, to be conserved and utilized efficiently, but as a ready source of profit which can be maximized in the short run only at the cost of wastage, and of abandonment of unrecovered resources in the ground which moves prices higher on the marginal cost scale.

Here, surely, is a field for investigation by social engineers and government geologists. Can the recovery rate be doubled, trebled perhaps, by underground gasification of petroleum? I do not know. I do not know, even, if anybody knows—or cares. I do know that minimizing waste in petroleum extraction, refining, and utilization would drive down the price of gasoline and other petroleum products, jeopardizing the profits of the oil companies and diminishing the GNP. In effect, and whatever their intentions might be, economists in government and the universities who worship this malformed numerical calf called the GNP are co-conspirators with the oil trusts in perpetuating the fraud that those who control the oil resources should be rewarded for wasting them. Waste enlarges GNP.

[TOWARDS A BURSTING POINT]

The nation's fundamental problem lies in its failure to distinguish between productive and unproductive labor and between the productive and unproductive use of resources. This was initially fostered by Henry Wallace, as Secretary of Agriculture, in his program to kill off the pigs and plough under the wheat and the cotton in order to force farm prices upward and, inferentially, to increase what we now call GNP. Ironically, the GNP concept was first formulated for use as a system of measurement for use by the War Department (pardon me, the Department of Defense) to solve the problem of resources allocation in World War II. Henry Wallace's destruction of agricultural resources was not the sort of thing the armed forces were seeking. The economic effects, of course, were much the same.

What was learned from Henry Wallace, and became imbedded in all subsequent Democratic policies, was that national income in the numerical sense can be increased by the direct wastage of resources and assets, including the creativity of mankind. What was not learned was that this could hold true in reality only if a major part of the na-

(Continued on page 52)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

II.

The Way Things (Don't) Work

by Seymour Melman

While President Nixon was hailing the manned lunar landing in August 1969 as "the greatest week since the Creation," a rather different technological drama was enacted in America's largest city. Millions of New Yorkers were suffering the effects of breakdowns in basic industrial services. Firms that could no longer be reached by phone placed ads in the newspapers to announce that they were still in business. The telephone service, normally taken for granted, seemed to be falling apart as ordinary local and long distance calling became annoyingly difficult. At the same time the gradually-deteriorating commuter railroads into New York City reached a new low in unacceptable performance with collisions, casualties, train cancellations and delays.

Even more disastrous for normal functioning in modern urban life were the successive breakdowns in electric power generating plants of Consolidated Edison during the August heatwaves, leaving buildings without air conditioning, elevator services or proper illumination.

Economists and engineers commonly agree that competent power supplies, transportation and communication comprise the infrastructure of a modern industrial system. That is to say, in the presence of these services, competently performed, it is readily possible to design all manner of modern industry. In the absence of such services a country is understood to be "underdeveloped." And so it came to pass by the summer of 1969 that the conditions of economic underdevelopment were manifested in New York.

Only a few years ago a technological debacle of this kind would have been unthinkable in the United States. For as long as any person can remember, Americans have regarded the state of their industrial technology as one aspect of American society and economy that was beyond criticism. Here, beyond any doubt, were the world's greatest achievements in applying mass production on a large scale. American industry, its management, research, production methods and product design had been held up as a model to all the world. However, the events of August 1969 in New York City are but one fragment of a larger process of deterioration of American industrial efficiency.

[INDUSTRY AFTER INDUSTRY]

• On July 1971 the *New York Times* reported an unusual development in the automobile industry:

> *"While this is the best auto sales year in the nation's history, with sales expected to approach 10 million cars, unemployment in Michigan is approaching 10% of the work force and is at 16% in Detroit. Never before has there been a combination of a strong auto year and a high unemployment in the nation's leading automobile production state. One major reason is that one of seven new cars sold comes from Europe or Japan, while another 700,000 are being imported this year from Canada for sale in the United States."*

Here is an unprecedented combination of financial success for the major automobile firms and high unemployment rates in their industrial home-base. Apparently it has become increasingly profitable for the major American auto producers to invest fresh capital abroad and import foreign-made products under their own label into the United States.

The U.S. auto industry has been, without question, the home-base of modern mass-production technology, where ideas of standardization, the assembly line and mass-production as conventionally understood were initiated and put into wide practice. According to *Business Week*, car models and options during the 1960s proliferated such that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Chrysler Corporation alone increased the number of parts in use from 12,000 to 23,000 within the decade. This is a tribute to the multiplication of design complexity, the failure to apply standardization techniques and modular design and the elaboration of model change for stylistic or allied merchandising purposes. By the 1960s the U.S. auto industry had become a classic example of failure to utilize many aspects of modern production engineering. And there are other failures.

• In 1970 the Federal Communications Commission, making its first national survey of telephone service, compiled voluminous evidence that, while the New York City phone system was judged to be the worst in the country, and getting worse, the condition there was not unique. Reports from 20 large cities serviced by the Bell Telephone System indicated that failure to satisfy the industry's own service standards was the rule, not the exception, in principal metropolitan centers of the United States.

• By 1971 a national energy crisis was clearly in evidence, showing signs of being durable and likely to become rather more intensive. The same problems of crisis extend to fuel supply in the form of natural gas. Optimistic assumptions about the availability of natural gas, which surely lay behind the construction of interstate gas lines and the conversion of gas-using units to natural gas, were unreasonable estimates based on faulty knowledge.

• In the late 1960s work began on the Bay Area Rapid Transit System in San Francisco. But because public rail transportation had been neglected for decades it was discovered that the most sophisticated developments—wheelless, linear-electric powered, air-cushioned vehicles capable of traveling 250 miles per hour—were available only from France or Japan. Moreover, when the civil engineering work for the BART system was put out for bids, very few contractors were interested. It seems that BART management had not "reckoned with the fact that many of these firms were committed up to their eyeballs on construction work in Vietnam and were not eager to take on additional work." By late 1971 the BART Transit System for San Francisco was in trouble. Prototype models, which had been built for a system scheduled to be in operation by 1968, crashed late in 1971. And the price of the system zoomed from $792 million to $1,400 million, representing the kind of "cost growth" which is customary in military economy. It is surely not accidental that the Rohr Company, which made its reputation in the aerospace and related industries, was the prime contractor. (The Rohr Company, incidentally, was also the subcontractor to Lockheed for the engine pylons which cracked on the giant C-5A transport.)

• During 1969 new railroad equipment was delivered to the Long Island and to the Penn Central Railroad. According to the *New York Times,* August 6, 1969, "The Long Island Railroad accepts 94 new cars and finds mechanical defects in all 94.... Because of breakdowns, it takes a standby fleet of 10 replacement cars to keep an average of 18 cars moving on the New York to Washington Metroliner. Two of the new Metroliner cars must be scrapped for spare parts. Twenty additional cars are delivered more than 6 months behind schedule and they also have serious defects." "It seems nobody knows how to make a passenger car anymore," complains one railroad executive.

Dr. Robert Nelson, Chief of the Federal Government Office of High Speed Ground Transportation said of the rail supply industry: "The industry simply does not have the massive manpower and technical resources that, for example, the aerospace industry has. The profits in railway supply equipment have been depressed for some years and bright young engineers have not been going into it."

• The steel industry of the United States has become a major center of industrial depletion with about 18% of the domestic market being serviced from abroad. About 80% of the Japanese steel industry makes use of the basic oxygen process whereas only about 50% of the U.S. industry is so equipped. The U.S. industry's managements have failed to do research and development on a scale necessary to offset cost differentials between U.S. and foreign countries. The consequence is that costs in the U.S. steel industry have risen to a level making imported steel saleable at from $20 to $40 per ton less than domestic steel.

Profit margins are also a factor. The non-U.S. steelmakers have been prepared to operate at substantially lower than American profit rates. A report by the Iron and Steel Institute shows that in 1968 in the U.S. steel industry net income as a percent of revenues averaged 5.3% while figures for identified firms in Japan were as follows: Yawata, 3.0%; Fuji, 3.3%; Kawasaki, 2.8%. Similar comparisons obtain for the relation of U.S. steel firm profits to those of Belgium, France, West Germany and Italy. The higher U.S. profit applied to the price has made U.S. steel essentially noncompetitive, which helps to explain why the steel structure of the World Trade Center, constructed at the foot of Manhattan, was shipped from Japan—and not from any U.S. steel source.

• The case of civilian electronics is perhaps the most striking example of industrial depletion in the United States. The design and manufacture of small radio receivers and most TV sets has dropped sharply. And civilian electronics firms, with close ties to the burgeoning military-space electronics field, have managed to avoid technological options which could help make U.S.-based production economically viable.

On September 19, 1971, the *New York Times* reported that Mr. Robert A. Schieber, Vice President of Operations for the RCA Corporation's consumer electronics division, announced that RCA had developed for television sets a circuit module printed on ceramic wafers. Mr. Barton Kreuzer, an Executive Vice President of RCA, predicted that, if the adaptation of the devices went smoothly, "it could make us competitive once again to the point where we could bring back at least a good part of the industry to the United States." He further stated that by late 1971 through the use of ceramic modules, "we should be competitive with Oriental costs and next year we ought to be able to beat them."

In order to realize this potential, however, it would have been necessary to standardize circuit design, thus making it economic to operate the manufacturing facilities required for mass-producing the modules. These modules have the further capability of being readily manipulated by mechanical means. But the American firms have refused thus far to undertake the standardization process.

• In August 1973 the *New York Times* reported that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. was turning to French suppliers for modern railroad equipment. Amtrak imported the first of a series of French-built turbo trains.

Why did the United States have to turn to France for a turbo train? [Amtrak official] Mr. Day explained that the American and Canadian turbos built by United Aircraft have had so many mechanical difficulties that the New York-Boston turbo run is no longer an extra-fare charge. And the French trains, costing about $2.7 million, are cheaper, he said. But Amtrak hopes to stir up further competition among builders.

One of the main difficulties is the condition of American tracks. Jean Fleche, chief test engineer for the research department of the French National Railways, said that he had operated the RTGs at better than 160 miles an hour. But one official noted that 70 is the top allowable speed now between Chicago and St. Louis.

• In industry after industry requiring quality engineering there has been a manifest falling-off of the U.S. position. Miniature ball bearings are an important component of many precision devices. By 1971 over half of the U.S. requirement of miniature ball bearings was supplied by imports, mainly from Japan.

[MISPLACED CONFIDENCE]

After the Second World War, industry in the United States developed strong leads in certain "high-technology" fields. These industries included computers, commercial jet aircraft, nuclear power and the design of semiconductors. These classes of products benefited directly from the force-feeding of areas of U.S. technology that were of special interest to the military. Indeed, the U.S. lead in these fields led to fears in Western Europe and elsewhere of a "technology gap" between the U.S. and Western Europe. This fear did not endure long as European and Japanese industrialists began to reap the benefit of their sustained concentration on civilian research. In January 1972 *Business Week* reported that:

Foreign steelmakers . . . were . . . installing new processes, such as the basic oxygen furnace, on a wider scale than American steelmen. And even in the early 1960s, U.S. heavy machinery builders such as the makers of turbine generators were running into intense foreign competition on design as well as on price. . . . These days some of Europe's older high-technology industries such as chemicals and electrical equipment, are selling more and more of their products and licensing more and more of their technology to U.S. companies. . . . Extra high voltage transmission, a more efficient way of conducting electric power for long distances, was pioneered in the U.S. by ASEA, the Swedish electrical equipment maker. When Colt Industries sought to rescue its faltering program for developing big diesel engines, it had to turn to Austrian consultants for help . . . The American construction industry is just beginning to use 'systems building' techniques that are already widely applied in Europe.

The aircraft industry is a notable example of the new international competition. In France and in Japan airframe and aircraft engine builders are developing designs that are sharply competitive with U.S.-made products. Mr. Alan E. Puckett, Executive Vice-President of Hughes Aircraft Company says, 'Our R&D money just isn't keeping pace.'

The DC-3 was one of the most successful commercial aircraft of all time. Its special operating characteristics of slow landing speed, short take-off requirement, rugged operating characteristics, continued to be valued more than 35 years after the plane was initially introduced. In the mid-1960s the Federal Aviation Agency announced a contest for the design of a successor plane to the DC-3 (which I reported in my book, *Our Depleted Society*, 1965). No American aircraft-producer entered the design contest--not even the Douglas firm which had been the designer and fabricator of the DC-3. However, a few years later, at the international air show in Hanover, Germany, the Soviet aviation industry presented a short haul passenger jet that aspired to the workhorse virtues of the venerable DC-3. This plane was three-engined, seating 34 passengers, and was offered at the obvious bargain price of $770,000 per plane, or about 1/3 the price of a small airliner made in the west.

Until 1971 federal officials believed that, come what may, American strength in the "high-technology" industries would more than overcome noncompetitiveness in traditionally "labor-intensive" industries. Therefore when a weakening position showed up in the areas of presumed strength, alarm bells sounded in the federal establishment. The scale and quality of U.S. industrial research was reviewed on July 27, 1971, by Maurice H. Stans, then Secretary of Commerce, when he appeared before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics.

Though the U.S. still maintains a much higher level of R&D expenditures than any individual country in the world, it is becoming evident that other countries, notably Western Germany and Japan, are placing a much higher relative emphasis on civilian R&D. In 1968, the U.S. spent $13 billion for civilian R&D. Equivalent figures for Japan and West Germany amount to $3 and $4 billion, respectively. These individual expenditures represented 1.5% of U.S. GNP, versus 2.6% of German GNP and 2.0% of Japan's. If the capitalized value of purchased foreign technology is computed and added to these figures, the U.S. level stays the same but both German and Japanese levels jump to $5 billion annually.

While the dollar level of our R&D exceeds the sum of West German and Japanese expenditures, there are two factors that qualify this apparent conclusion. One is that wage costs in those countries are much lower, with the result that they can purchase more R&D per dollar invested. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it takes a greater R&D effort, at much greater cost, for the leading country to find innovations to stay ahead.

This was the first time since 1893 that a deficit had appeared in U.S. trade with other nations. And there were predictions of more to come. So the government announced a series of moves to improve civilian technology. William Magruder was moved from NASA, where he was in charge of the supersonic transport program, to the White House and asked to plan civilian technology programs. A task force from the President's Office of Science and Tech-

Photomontages by Daniel Hunter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Public expenditure tradeoffs are a major connection between war economy and quality of life, and the link is visible in a set of choices made by the Nixon Administration for 1974. Here is a list of proposed cuts in civilian items contrasted with increased money recommended by the Administration for military and related projects.

FEDERAL 1974 BUDGET

CIVILIAN ECONOMY CUTS	($ million)	($ million)	MILITARY ECONOMY INCREASES
CUT in grants for basic water and sewer facilities under HUD Community Development Program	7.3	6.9	INCREASE for MK 48 Torpedo
CUT in construction loans and grants for higher education	18.0	15.3	INCREASE for E-3A Airborne Warning & Control System
CUT in education for the handicapped under HEW Office of Education	23.9	22.9	INCREASE for SAM-D Missile
CUT in library resources under HEW Office of Education	33.9	29.0	INCREASE for B-1 Bomber
CUT in federally supported hospital and health facility construction	36.0	39.5	INCREASE for manned space flight research and development under NASA
CUT in operations, research, and facilities of the Environmental Protection Agency	75.4	73.9	INCREASE for NASA
CUT in Indian programs under Minority Assistance Programs (to broaden opportunities for economic participation and self-determination)	82.2	94.3	INCREASE for A-X Tactical Attack Aircraft
CUT in federally aided health training and education	86.0	92.0	INCREASE in Air Force research, development, text, and evaluation
CUT in child nutrition for elementary and secondary education	200.0	194.2	REQUEST for SAM-D Missile
CUT in manpower revenue sharing under DoL Manpower Administration	252.0	239.9	INCREASE for F-15 Tactical Fighter Aircraft (77 planes)
CUT in emergency employment assistance under DoL Manpower Administration	519.7	546.3	REQUEST for S-3A Viking Anti-Submarine Warfare Aircraft
CUT in elementary and secondary education	1,500.0	1,200.0	REQUEST for one Trident Submarine

Sources:
The Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1974, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
Special Analyses, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1974, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
Program Acquisition Costs by Weapon System, Department of Defense Budget for Fiscal Year 1974, Department of Defense, Washington, D.C.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nology was set up to encourage the transfer of federally-generated technology to state and local governments. Research and development pooling among smaller companies was to be promoted, and patent policies were to be altered in order to encourage private use of government-owned patents. Furthermore, the government indicated that it was planning to make money available to start new high-technology enterprises, and a bill was submitted to the Congress in 1972 for this purpose. Also, a series of investigations were started to discover ways of inducing business firms and others to develop and utilize new technology. But the administration had soon recovered from its panic.

[QUESTIONABLE SOLUTIONS]

The Department of Defense came through with a major plan for enlarging world sales of armaments from the United States, increasing such exports from $925 million in 1970 to $3,800 million per year in 1973. Negotiations were undertaken with the U.S.S.R. for large sales of agricultural produce, and the administration proceeded to deal vigorously with the Japanese to slow down the rate of Japanese penetration into U.S. markets and accelerate the export of U.S. goods.

However, increased export of U.S.-produced grains to Japan, Western Europe and the U.S.S.R. has led to sharp reductions in American stocks and significant price increases in grains and in grain-dependent products for domestic markets. Thus, the prices of all grades of meat products in the United States increased dramatically during 1972-73 as a response to the increased cost of feeding and fattening cattle. In the short run, it is true that armaments sales abroad will restore a more favorable balance of trade, but it will also ensure a high-capacity utilization of military-industry facilities in the U.S. with all its depleting consequences.

Every year since 1961 the Secretary of Defense has presented to the Congress a report on the military security position of the United States. The content of these reports has been wide-ranging, from military-technical subjects and the balance of payments, to various efforts by the Pentagon to participate in the War on Poverty. In none of these elaborate statements is there so much as a hint that the Pentagon's enterprise might have a negative effect on the domestic security of the American people due to the drain on capital, manpower and the preemption of social attention. There is also a year-round effort by the military and civilian officers of the Pentagon to justify the operation of the military directorate as an all-around boon to American economy and society.

The assumption that sustained war economy brings economic and allied well-being encounters a cruel contrast in the shape of what is foregone in the United States in health care, housing, education, and minimum nutrition. These are all recognized areas of public responsibility partly because the consequences of deficiencies in these realms have blighting effects on the entire society.

The idea that quality of life could be a public responsibility gained support from a sizable minority in the United States during the 1960s. However political leaders, intellectuals and the general populace did not concur. The quality of life was to remain mainly a personal and private responsibility, while grudgingly subsidized from the public purse. The rule here was subsidy-minimization. The ideological consensus obscured the actual connection between priority to military economy and deficient health care, decay of the central cities, and the general failure to carry out economic and social development for the industrialized parts of American society.

Item: From 1970 on the federal government undertook across-the-board reduction in sponsoring scientific research of every sort. In particular major reductions or total elimination was ordered for educational support of new biologists, chemists, physicists, and every other science. Thereby the directorate of war economy withdrew investment in the future of the United States as a productive society.

Item: By 1970 the actual demand for new doctors in the United States was 50% greater than the 8,500 new M.D.'s receiving their degree in that year.

Item: In New York City the municipal hospitals had 4,480 nurses on their staffs, but needed 1,400 more to meet reasonable standards.

Item: The National Academy of Sciences in September 1972 found that emergency medical services represented "one of the weakest links in delivery of health care in the nation," and that thousands of lives are lost through lack of systematic application of established principles of emergency care.

Item: The American population as a whole is described as a nation of "nutritional illiterates," and among the poor, one out of four have been found to be anemic to the degree requiring medical care. Among children of migrant workers malnutrition is found as severe as that once seen in Biafra during the civil war and siege of the 1960s.

Item: California, the capital state of military industry, has been importing 70% of its physicians, 75% of its registered nurses and 60% of its pharmacists, thereby draining the medical resources of the donor states.

Item: In 1970, studies of adult literacy show that "half the nation's adults may lack the literacy necessary to master such day-to-day reading matter as driving manuals, newspapers and job applications."

Item: From 1970 to 1973 there was an epidemic of reductions in school budgets, teaching personnel and educational programs throughout the country. The length of the school year was reduced in a series of large cities.

This unexpected turn of events fits neither with the ideological consensus about the U.S. economy, nor with the urgency for being Number One that pervades American culture. To Americans, the idea of being Number One means not merely having unsurpassed military and industrial power, but also a high and rising level of material well-being for the population as a whole. Being superior in both guns and butter has been part of the American self-image—guns were even supposed to help make butter. One of the core contradictions in American life has been between this ideology and economic reality. For as it has turned out, guns have inevitably taken away from butter.

Seymour Melman is a professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University. His works include Pentagon Capitalism *(1970) and* Our Depleted Society *(1965).*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

III. One Modest Proposal

"In the long run, we are all dead," wisecracked John Maynard Keynes when questioned about the long-run implications of his economics. At the time it was a funny remark. But 28 years after Keynes's death, we who have inherited that long run are no longer laughing. Suddenly, the idea of an infinitely expanding, infinitely wasteful economy which seemed so irresistibly triumphant for the last four decades has revealed itself to be completely untenable.

For the first time in years, there is a widespread audience ready to listen to serious proposals to rationalize the U.S. economy. But the opposition to such rationalization is powerful, and it is still able to muster arguments about "greater productivity," more jobs, and vague "complexities" in order to block any actions that would threaten certain powerful private interests.

A case in point is the bill banning non-returnable beverage containers now bottled up in the U.S. Senate Commerce Committee. It was proposed by Oregon's Republican Senator Mark Hatfield, no flaming radical. But the idea is so egregiously sensible, and the practices it halts so egregiously wasteful, that it shows in microcosm what sort of things can *easily* be done to make the U.S. economy more truly productive and less wasteful, and what sort of opposition such action faces.

The Hatfield bill is modeled on an Oregon law which went into effect in late 1972. The Oregon law and the Hatfield bill each require a 5¢ deposit on beer and soft drink containers that are used by only one brand, and a 2¢ deposit on containers that are interchangeable—that is, which can be returned to two or more different companies. Pop tops are banned, and all grocers are required to accept returns. In Oregon, the law has dramatically reduced roadside litter. And a national switch to reusable bottles would not only reduce the price of soft drinks but would also save the energy and raw materials required to make a new throwaway container for every user. Still, the bill faces substantial, and so far successful, opposition which includes one group that calls itself an environmentalist organization.

Since the 1950s the beer and soft drink industries have shifted dramatically from deposit bottles to throwaway bottles and cans. Supermarkets did not like to sort and store all those bottles, and some even refused to give refunds. The increase coincided also with increased concentration in the brewing and soft drink industry, which made it more practicable to ship one-way containers from a single centralized brewery and bottling plant than to ship the heavier, reusable bottles which must be picked up and returned. In the years from 1968 through 1972 alone, throwaways jumped from under a quarter of the soft drink container market to almost half the market. And one franchised bottle plant owner told the Senate that by 1980 Coca-Cola plans to substitute 78 centralized production centers relying on throw-away containers for the present 900 franchised bottling plants. He saw similar trends in Pepsi-Cola, 7-Up and other national brands, and complained that marketing, advertising, and sales promotion for the national brands have shifted from de-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posit bottles to throwaways as production becomes more centralized.

The rapidly proliferating number of throwaways was an obvious target for the environmental movement, but the interested industries–steel, aluminum, glass, brewers and soft drink manufacturers–have tried with some success to deflect the movement away from their doorsteps. Keep America Beautiful, Inc., the businessman's well-known contribution to the environmentalist movement, has been their main instrument for this. On the board of directors of KAB Inc. sit executives of U.S. Steel, American, National, and Continental Can Companies, Pepsi-Cola, Reynolds Aluminum, the National Glass Bottlers Association, and the U.S. Brewers Association. KAB's environmental experts have testified that a law banning no-deposit bottles would be ineffective. Emily Leonard, KAB's director for Program Development, explains that trash is a "people problem" not to be solved by "discriminatory legislation" such as the Hatfield bill. She opines that if the number of littered bottles and cans went down, the amount of other forms of litter would just go up, and she warned, "there are no simple solutions to complex problems." Opponents of the bottle bill have been encouraging voluntary recycling programs as a way of staving off legislation banning throwaways. The head of an Ann Arbor, Michigan, ecology program quit in disgust after realizing that his recycling efforts had played into the hands of the industry people trying to keep a throwaway ban out of the Michigan legislature.

One industry spokesman has even presented the proposed throwaway ban as a threat to freedom. "Compulsory deposit on beverage containers," warns the Glass Container Manufacturers Institute, "denies the consumer the freedom to choose convenience over economy or any perceived environmental benefits."

But by far the most powerful arguments against the bottle bill is that it will cost jobs. A switch from throwaways to returnables would destroy the beverage-can making industry, and would also put a dent in the bottle-making industry. So last autumn, the AFL-CIO convention passed a resolution opposing any throwaway ban. The steelworkers, the aluminum workers, the glassblowers, and other unions sent representatives to testify against the Hatfield bill. United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel claimed that a ban on non-returnable beverage containers would cost between 45,000 and 58,000 jobs in the basic metals and can manufacturing industries alone.

Altogether, the opponents of the bill argue that the banning of non-returnable containers would risk certain economic harm for the sake of dubious environmental benefits.

But the bottle bill's advocates have made a powerful case for the bill. In fact, using the success of the Oregon law as an example, they have shown that, except for certain special interest groups, a switch from throwaway containers to deposit bottles provides strong economic as well as environmental benefits. In Oregon, during the first three months the bill was in effect, the number of littered beverage containers fell by 75 percent. In the first year of the bottle bill's operation there was an 88 percent reduction in the number of beverage containers in Oregon's solid waste, according to an Oregon State University survey. So it turns out that a simple measure like the bottle bill can make surprisingly large dents in the cost of garbage and litter collection. In Detroit, the sanitation department says it spends $4,000 each *day* to dispose of bottles. According to N. E. Norton, President of the Crusade for a Cleaner Environment, it costs New York City 25¢ to pick up and dispose of *one* littered bottle.

Photographs by Daniel Hunter

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No one doubts the benefits of returnable bottles to consumer beverage prices. Crusade for a Cleaner Environment, one of the chief proponents of the bill, gleefully quotes the following supermarket ad from a Charleston, S.C., newspaper:

"The savings from buying in returnable deposit containers are truly *unbelievable!* For instance Nationally Advertised Brands of soft drinks that retail in six 12 oz. can cartons are generally sold for 87¢. You can purchase the same products in six 12 oz. returnable bottles for 59¢. This represents a savings of 28¢ per carton or more than 40 percent. So it's very clear that *you* the consumer are paying a great increase in price and contributing heavily to our waste problem."

The Crusade took its own price survey in Washington, D.C., and Richmond, Virginia, and found that a six pack of Coke in returnable bottles retailed for 20¢ and 24¢ less in those two cities than six of the same size Coke in throwaway cans. They estimate a savings to consumers of over one and one-half *billion* dollars per year by switching to returnable bottles for beer and soft drinks. Although making a reusable bottle is initially more expensive than making a throwaway bottle or can, and there are extra costs involved in collecting, transporting and washing the empties, the cost of using one bottle twenty or more times is substantially cheaper than using twenty different bottles.

In addition, the predicted consumer reluctance to accept the inconvenience of having to return empties to the store didn't materialize in Oregon. Beer and soft drink sales went up rather than down, as some had predicted, after the bill went into effect. Not only did Oregonians return their empties to the stores, but the rate of return on refillable bottles after the law went into effect was *higher* than before the law. In 1972, 80 percent of the deposit soft-drink cans were returned. In 1973, with the new law in effect, 92 percent were returned. The figures for beer were even more dramatic.

Another surprise was that the standard-size beer bottles with only a 2¢ deposit were returned at a higher rate than those bottles which were used by only one bottler, which had a 5¢ deposit.

One explanation for these odd statistics is an increase in consumer convenience: it is easier to get into the habit of returning deposit bottles than when you have occasional deposit bottles. And the standardized bottles are even easier to return, since they can be returned to any retailer, while the individualized bottles can only be brought to the company that sells that brand. (This suggests it would be easier to ban the individualized bottles altogether.)

After the Oregon law went into operation, two Oregon State University business professors undertook a detailed study of the law's effects on the state's economy. They found that the new law caused an *increase* in employment. Although production labor for manufacturing cans and bottles went down, there was an increased need for truck drivers and warehousemen to handle the empties. The switchover to returnables reduced operation costs for beer and soft-drink makers, but stores, which have to handle the returns, found the new system a pain in the neck and slightly more expensive for them in labor time and storage space. Glass bottle manufacturers, who might have been expected to gain from a big switch from throwaway cans to no deposit bottles, were also hurt because the rate of bottle return went up. Support for the national bottle bill by the glass container lobby never materialized. The can industry, of course, was the biggest loser.

If the trend towards one-way containers is reversed by a bottle law, it may also preserve the decentralized franchised production plants. Two small bottlers testified in favor of the bill in Washington. A study conducted for the Environmental Protection Agency concludes that the enactment of a national bottle bill would mean a national net increase in employment of 300,000 jobs.

But perhaps more compelling than any of the above reasons—and the thing that sooner or later will force passage of a bottle bill—is that the country can no longer afford the resources to produce the 60 billion one-way containers we use every year. Because the bill was first proposed during the height of last fall's "energy crisis" its proponents have been emphasizing how much energy would be saved by a switch to an all-refillable bottle system. The container industry is quite energy-intensive, requiring between 1 and 2 percent of all energy used by U.S. industries, according to Senator Hatfield. Other advocates of the bottle bill give different comparisons to show how much energy a throwaway ban would save: The Council for a Cleaner Environment says it would save the energy equivalent of all the electricity needed for more than 9 million affluent Americans for one year. Another group called Sensible Citizens against Throwaways (SCAT) claims we waste on throwaways the energy equivalent of over 5 million gallons of gasoline a day.

In the end, though, it may be the waste of raw materials which forces us to ban throwaway containers. Aluminum cans, by far the fastest growing segment of the container market, will be the first to feel the pinch. Already the world's major producers of bauxite, which is a necessary ingredient of aluminum, have formed a cartel similar to that of the oil producing countries. Domestic aluminum prices recently *doubled* after Jamaica, the main U.S. bauxite supplier, tripled its taxes and royalties.

It makes more sense to provide now for the inevitable shortages and resulting economic dislocation. Some of the savings in container costs and disposal expenses could be used for a serious retraining and relocation program for any workers who lose their jobs as a result of a ban on throwaways. Surely any GNP lost because the container industry would no longer be spewing out endless quantities of throwaway cans will be missed by few besides Alcoa, Reynolds, and U.S. Steel.

Despite all the talk about long-range business planning, the road to profitability for these companies likely lies in the short run, not in long-range concerns about shortages and the environment. It is a sign of the continuing influence of these interest groups that Congress, despite all the evidence of crisis, continues to think in the short run, too. There will probably be no action on the bottle bill this year. But economic circumstances, if not public opinion, may soon force Congress's hand. – **T.Z.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"...But Words Can Never Hurt Me."

An address to the P.E.N. Conference in Stockholm

Journalists and teachers are often bullied or fired in my country—for saying this or that. But writers of novels and plays and short stories and poems have never been hurt or hampered much. They haven't even been noticed much by federal, state, or local governments, no matter how insolent or blasphemous or treasonous those writers may be. This has been going on now for nearly two hundred years.

If tyranny comes to my country, which is an old one now (and tyranny can come anywhere, anytime, as nearly as I can tell), I expect to go on writing whatever I please, without putting myself in danger, as long as what I write is fiction. The experience of American power structures with fiction since 1776 would appear to validate what is perhaps the first poem I ever learned by heart. A playmate must have taught it to me. It goes like this:

Sticks and stones
May break my bones,
But words can never hurt me.

It is the feeling in several countries, I know, that fiction can hurt a social order a lot. And by fiction I mean any person's written report of what is going on in his head, as opposed to the daily news. Writers of such stuff, as Heinrick Böll can tell us, have been jailed, put into lunatic asylums, exiled, or even killed sometimes—for putting certain words in a certain order. Politicians who do things like that to fiction writers should learn from the American experience that they are not merely being cruel. They are being preposterous, too. Fiction is harmless. Fiction is so much hot air.

by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.

Photograph by Jill Krementz

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Our purpose is to make mankind aware of itself, in all its complexities, and to dream its dreams. We have no choice in the matter."

The Vietnam war has proved this. Virtually every American fiction writer was against our participation in that civil war. We all raised hell about the war for years and years—with novels and poems and plays and short stories. We dropped on our complacent society the literary equivalent of a hydrogen bomb.

I will now report to you the power of such a bomb. It has the explosive force of a very large banana-cream pie—a pie two meters in diameter, twenty centimeters thick, and dropped from a height of ten meters or more.

My own feeling is that we should turn this awesome weapon over to the United Nations, or to some other international peacekeeping organization, such as the C.I.A.

What can tyrants, large and small, learn from my speech so far? That fiction writers are harmless. They may safely be allowed all the freedoms which birds have—to sing as they please, to hop about, to fly. Harsh authorities everywhere should learn this poem by heart, and recite it joyfully at the start of every day:

Sticks and stones
May break my bones,
But fiction can never hurt me.

Thus ends the public part of my speech. I have a few additional words for you, my colleagues. Please don't repeat them outside this room. While it is true that we American fiction writers failed to modify the course of the war, we have reason to suspect that we have poisoned the minds of thousands or perhaps millions of American young people. Our hope is that the poison will make them worse than useless in unjust wars.

We shall see.

Unfortunately, that still leaves plenty of Americans who don't read or think much—who will still be extremely useful in unjust wars. We are sick about that. We did the best we could.

Most writers I know, all over the world, do the best they can. They must. They have no choice in the matter. All artists are specialized cells in a single, huge organism, mankind. Those cells have to behave as they do, just as the cells in our hearts or our fingertips have to behave as they do.

We here are some of those specialized cells. Our purpose is to make mankind aware of itself, in all its complexity, and to dream its dreams. We have no choice in the matter.

And there is more to our situation than that. In privacy here, I think we can acknowledge to one another that we don't really write what we write. We don't write the *best* of what we write, at any rate. The best of our stuff draws information and energy and wholeness from outside ourselves. Sculptors feel this more strongly than we do, incidentally. Every sculptor I ever knew felt that some spook had taken possession of his hands.

Where do these external signals come from? I think they come from all the other specialized cells in the organism. Those other cells contribute to us energy and little bits of information, in order that we may increase the organism's awareness of itself —and dream its dreams.

But if the entire organism thinks that what we do is important, why aren't we more influential than we are? I am persuaded that we are tremendously influential, even though most national leaders, my own included, probably never heard of most of us here. Our influence is slow and subtle, and it is felt mainly by the young. They are hungry for myths which resonate with the mysteries of their own times.

We give them those myths.

We will become influential when those who have listened to our myths have become influential. Those who rule us now are living in accordance with myths created for them by writers when *they* were young. It is perfectly clear that our rulers do not question those myths for even a minute during busy day after busy day. Let us pray that those terribly influential writers who created those our leaders' were humane.

Thank you.

From the book Wampeters, Foma & Granfalloons *by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. Copyright © 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1973, 1974. A Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence book, used by permission of the publisher.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Racist Chic:

The Return of the Klansman

Imagine, in this final Gotterdamerung when Richard Nixon contemplates the end of his reign, the plastic heads of Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Mitchell, Stans *et al,* roll, and the SLA-FBI holocaust in Los Angeles thrills a nationwide audience on live TV—imagine if you will, the emergence of a brand new *white* exploitation film called *The Klansman,* charging out of Hollywood's chutes like a Bramaha bull.

The Klansman has a budget of 4.5 million dollars supplied by independent investors who comprise The Klansman Productions, Inc. Richard Burton, Lee Marvin, Cameron Mitchell, Lola Falana, O. J. Simpson have lead roles and it is directed by Terence Young of *The Valachi Papers, Red Sun,* and the first three James Bond movies. Add to all that William Alexander, billed as the second black producer in history, after Oscar Micheaux, add a musical score by Stevie Wonder, and you have a happening.

Filmed on location in Oroville, California, *The Klansman* is scheduled for distribution this Fall by Paramount. Its debut has been preceded by a heavy barrage of publicity, including feature articles in *Playboy, Playgirl,* a full 90 minutes on the *Merv Griffin Show,* and—of all things—coverage by Howard Cosell (of O. J. Simpson's reversal of field from halfback to actor) on ABC's *Wide World of Sports.* Last spring, 175 key members of the national and international press were greased with a $22,000 party in Oroville, featuring free chartered airline transportation and a spread put together by Governor Reagan's caterer.

Lest it appear that the movie itself is anticlimactic in comparison to all this, it should be said that *The Klansman* has two rapes, one attempted rape, a castration, a lynching, two attempted lynchings, a couple of street brawls, three assassinations by a deranged black militant and a final, riotous shootout. All this occurs in the heart of the New South—in a mythical Alabama town named Ellenton—

by Robert Chrisman

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

although the characters have an antique ring. Richard Burton portrays Breck Stancill, a tree farmer and Southern liberal whose great grandfather was lynched for his abolitionist beliefs (though the Stancills introduced slavery into the county). Lee Marvin portrays Big Track Bascomb, the poor white sheriff of Ellenton who won a Congressional Medal of Honor for "killing gooks." Cameron Mitchell is Butt Cut Cates, his deputy and a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Lola Falana plays Loretta Sykes, a young black woman recently returned from Chicago. O. J. Simpson is Garth, a young black man driven to vengeful black nationalism by the Klan's castration and lynching of his innocent friend, Henry Armstrong.

The action begins with the rape of a young white woman, Nancy Poteet, by an unidentified black. The local black cocksman, Willie Washington, is arrested by Big Track, who faces down an attempted lynching by the Klan. The Klan then chases Henry and Garth, but as we all know, O. J. can run like hell, so he escapes. Witnessing the murder and castration, Garth kills two Klansmen in rapid succession, driving the Klan to retaliation. Acting for the Klan, Butt Cut arrests Loretta Sykes. She is taken to a lumberyard where she is graphically and systematically raped by Butt Cut, with the aid of Klan members who pin her arms and hold her legs spread. Big Track arrives right after the rape and fires Butt Cut, but does not arrest him. Instead he covers for Butt Cut and the Klan by forcing Loretta to falsify the account of the rape to save her life.

Blame is placed on the black organizers of a voter rights demonstration, who are portrayed as opportunistic, skirt-chasing publicity hounds. The Klan takes another crack at Willie Washington in the town jail, but in a recognition scene that would make Aristotle do the funky chicken, a Klansman's wife appears and states that Willie could not possibly have raped Nancy Poteet, because *she* was having sex with him at the time.

The ubiquitous Garth, who most often is filmed running up and down trees with his sniper's rifle, routs the voter rights demonstration by potting still another Klansman. The outraged Klan can no longer be contained with free ass at the local whorehouse. Led by Butt Cut, they attack Breck Stancill at his home atop Stancill's Mountain. Loretta and the black welfare recipients who get free cabins and provisions from him fight loyally to the death for Massa Breck, in the shotgun shootout that ends the film.

* * *

The scenario of *The Klansman* is, to say the least, a heady brew of sex and violence. But then, so are *Oedipus Rex* and *King Lear.* The problem with this film is not the sex and violence, but the fact that even though it chronicles events that appear to have political or moral significance, it is absolutely devoid of ethical vision. It is an enticement that frustrates and debauches the viewer. *The Klansman* is, in fact, akin to pornography.

The problem with pornography is not its subject matter, but the fact that it provides no catharsis for the passion it stimulates. It is plain bad art. By stimulating but not fulfilling, by promising but not giving, pornography frustrates even as it pretends to fulfill.

As America's political and social structure continues to deteriorate, so will its cultural capability. Thus the emergence in the last five years of "pure" sex films (*Deep Throat, Behind the Green Door*) and "pure" violence films (*Fists of Fury*) indicates the increasing erosion of the creative imagination, creating works that unfold in a world without order or values and thus without satisfaction. Indeed, in production values and procedures there is considerable similarity between the current pornies and kung fu flicks. They are studio films with simple plots produced by repertory athletes. Without much effort, one can imagine a combination of the two: Linda Lovelace and some kung fu-ru in a vehicle called *Throat of Fury.*

With *The Klansman*, the values of pornography are the core of the action, not at its periphery. Most spectacular is the scene in which Butt Cut rapes Loretta Sykes, probably the most graphic rape scene to appear in the mainstream media. It is, however, preceded by an attempted black-on-black rape scene in which the Klan foments the rape of a civil rights demonstrator by Lightning Rod, a feeble-minded black man of legendary sexual endowment who rapes black women for a dollar at the Klan's behest. That rape is broken up by Big Track, who himself gives Lightning Rod his dollar.

In dealing with Loretta, Butt Cut decides that a white male raping a black woman would create more shame and demoralization among the Movement than a black-on-black rape and, most important, maintains, "There ain't nothin' Lightning Rod can do that I can't do better," as he proceeds to rape amid cries of, "My God he's ripping her apart," from the raptured Klan.

Finally, *The Klansman* is much more about sex than it is violence—or, rather, it makes violence sexual and sex violent; its violent pseudo-political action is as meaningless as the sex. Black nationalist sentiment in Garth is presented as madness resulting from atrocity, not from a logically thought out response to the position of black people in the United States. Likewise, the vengeful killings of three Klansmen who are immune from legal prosecution are also treated as a mental aberration, not as a fitting retaliation against oppression. The political tactics of the voter rights demonstrations and the vision of Garth's black nationalist vengeance are put in equipoise with Klan tactics and vision. The action of one escalates the action of the other in the film until the final black Klan confrontation leads the audience to say, "A plague on both your houses." But there is no comparison between the violent action of black militants struggling against institutionalized racist oppression and violence, with the sanctioned violence of the white establishment.

Just as *The Godfather* was a commercial for the Mafia and its values, and *Superfly* one 90-minute plug for cocaine, *The Klansman* might serve as a commercial for the Ku Klux Klan, bringing about a rise in public Klan and imitation Klan activities—beatings, rapes, cross burnings, arson and killings. Its absence of value stems from the evident desire of *The Klansman*'s creators to be simultaneously on the sides of God and Mammon, or at least as good liberals, to cut God in on ten percent of the gross receipts. *The*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Klansman is based on the 1967 Pulitzer-prize-winning novel, *The Klansman,* by William Bradford Huie, a classic exposition of Southern liberalism, with all its virtues and failings. Its plot is simpler, less sensational and more coherent than the film's, with significant differences. It is set in the period of non-violent civil rights demonstrations, shortly after Selma. Garth, put into the film as a concession to the militancy of the Seventies, is not in the novel. Instead there is an FBI investigative team as the short arm of justice.

The subsequent drama of the novel focuses upon the increasing complications that fall upon Big Track as he covers up the rape and upon Breck as he gets progressively more involved in assisting the FBI investigation and risking the retaliation of the Klan. In Huie's novel, both men oppose the civil rights movement—Big Track because he is a racist who fears embarassment of his political career, and Breck because he favors the go-slow approach with no "outside agitators." Big Track is also a passive member of the Klan; Stancill loathes them.

As tension mounts, Big Track is torn between his friendship with Stancill and his Klan beliefs and political expediency. The Klan attacks Stancill's home; he kills several men and is arrested for murder by Big Track. Given the choice between cooperating with the FBI investigation to save Stancill and remaining a Klansman, Big Track remains a Klansman. He allows the Klan to invade the jail and they kill Stancill. The novel concludes with Big Track's arrest for conspiring to violate civil rights.

Huie is stating explicitly here that the dream of a coalition of Southern liberal bourgeoisie, poor whites and blacks for improved conditions cannot be achieved because of the racism of the poor white and the impotence of the southern liberal. Instead, the post-reconstruction bourgeoisie, as typified by Hardy Riddle, together with the poor whites and the Ku Klux terror, continue to run the South.

Huie's main point in the book is that Southern law itself is in complicity with the Klan. The Klan *is* the law, and a metaphor for racism in America. But in the film, presumably aimed for distribution in the South,

the point is judiciously altered so that the Klan, and Klan-like activity, is *outside* the law, un-American, uncharacteristic.

* * *

One senses a ghost, a nightrider, lurking on the edge of *The Klansman.* This specter is D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation,* which was based on a novel called *The Clansmen,* published in 1905 by the notorious Confederate apologist Thomas Dixon. There are parallels: the black rape of the white woman, his lynching by the Ku Klux Klan, the general atmosphere of orgiastic violence, and the debasement of blacks. Excepting the pathetic Loretta Sykes, who is debauched, there are no admirable blacks in this film version of *The Klansman.* Garth is portrayed as a cracked and hateful bad nigger; Willie Washington is a promiscuous clown; the black organizer, Charles Peck, is a freak for long-haired white girls; and Lightning Rod is an idiotic, brutal sex machine.

When asked about the relationship to *Birth of a Nation,* both director Terence Young and scriptwriter Millard Kaufman indicated their awareness of the inevitable comparison and suggested that their *Klansman* was the flip side of the coin.

Despite their intentions, one is dubious of the results. It takes no particular insight into the current racial situation to understand that there is a strong parallel between the moods of blacks in the 1890s and the 1970s. The intensification of white resistance to equal rights for blacks; the spread of police terror from street shootings and urban commandoes variously called STRESS, the Metro squad, the Tac squad; the use of Federal agencies and intelligence units from the FBI on through the Internal Revenue Service to disrupt and infiltrate the black movement: all signal an increase in white racism and the growing repression of black people. Meanwhile, opportunistic black leaders and spokesmen have been beguiled into taking seriously their role as the new black bourgeoisie, making much the same error as did Booker T. Washington during the turn of the century. The present black emphasis on economism, and the tacit acceptance of capitalism as a vehicle for liberation, occurs at the cost of significant political struggle—and gains. With less than one percent of the GNP, blacks do not have, and will not be permitted, the economic base for capitalist development.

It is thus a supreme irony that this second treatment of *The Klansman* should be produced by a black man, William Alexander. One's curiosity is also aroused upon learning that the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great majority of Alexander's previous filming consisted of producing documentaries for African countries gravitating to the American sphere of influence. Closely associated with Elmer Davis' Office of War Information during World War II, Alexander later became official state filmmaker for Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie as well as for Liberia's late President William S. Tubman. With the exception of the white racist regimes in Africa, these are perhaps the two most reactionary countries on that continent.

Despite his limited experience in producing feature films, Alexander was able to raise, single-handed, $4.5 million, jetting more than 300,000 miles in the process. Such success can only suggest that a lot of smart and influential money thinks that the American people are psychologically ready for *The Klansman.* That is a frightening thought.

Robert Chrisman is editor of Black Scholar *magazine in Sausalito, California, and co-author of* Panafricanism *and* Contemporary Black Thought.

CIA

(From page 25)

professional was hired on a probationary basis, and one black secretary was brought in. When the professional had finished her probation, she was encouraged to find work elsewhere, and the black secretary was given duties away from the main ONE offices—out of sight in the reproduction center. ONE did bend somewhat by hiring a few Jews and some additional Catholics.

There are extremely few women in high-ranking positions in the CIA, but, of course, the agency does employ women as secretaries and for other non-professional duties. As is true with all large organizations, there is a high turnover in these jobs, and the agency each year hires a thousand or more new applicants. In a search for suitable candidates, CIA recruiters concentrate on recent high-school graduates from the mostly white small towns and cities of Virginia and the neighboring states, Maryland, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Washington, with its overwhelming black majority, supplies comparatively few of the CIA's secretaries. Over the years the recruiters have established good contacts with high-school guidance counselors and principals in the nearby states, and when they make their annual tour in search of candidates, interested girls are steered their way, with several from the same class often being hired at the same time. When the new secretaries come to CIA headquarters outside of Washington, they are encouraged to live in agency-selected apartments in the Virginia suburbs, buildings in which virtually all the tenants are CIA employees.

Security considerations play a large part in the agency's lack of attention to urban areas in its secretarial recruiting. All agency employees must receive full security clearances before they start work. This is a very expensive process, and women from small towns are easier and cheaper to investigate. Moreover, the CIA seems actually to prefer secretaries with the All-American image who are less likely to have been "corrupted" or "politicized" than their urbanized sisters.

[NEW RECRUITS]

Agency secretaries, as well as all other personnel, must pass lie-detector tests as a condition of employment. Then they periodically—usually at five-year intervals or when they return from overseas assignments—must submit themselves again to the "black box." The CIA, unlike most employers, finds out nearly everything imaginable about the private lives of its personnel through these polygraph tests. Questions about sex, drugs, and personal honesty are routinely asked along with security-related matters such as possible contacts with foreign agents. The younger secretaries invariably register a negative reading on the machine when asked the standard: "Have you ever stolen government property?" The polygraph experts usually have to add the qualifying clause, "not including pens, pencils, or minor clerical items."

Once CIA recruits have passed their security investigations and lie-detector tests, they are given training by the agency. Most of the secretaries receive instruction in the Washington area, such instruction focusing on the need for secrecy in all aspects of the work. Women going overseas to type and file for their CIA bosses are given short courses in espionage tradecraft. A former secretary reported that the most notable part of her field training in the late 1960s was to trail an instructor in and out of Washington department stores. (This woman's training proved useful, however, when in her first post abroad, ostensibly as an embassy secretary, she was given the mission of surveilling an apartment building in disguise as an Arab woman.)

The agency's professionals, most of them (until the 1967 National Student Association disclosures) recruited through "friendly" college professors, receive much more extensive instruction when they enter the CIA as career trainees (CTs). For two years they are on a probationary status, the first year in formal training programs and the second with on-the-job instruction. The CTs take introductory courses at a CIA facility ("The Farm") in Arlington, Virginia, in subjects such as security, the organization of the agency and the rest of the intelligence community, and the nature of international communism. Allen Dulles, in his days as Director, liked to talk to these classes and tell them how, as an American diplomat in Switzerland during World War I, he received a telephone call from a Russian late on a Saturday morning. The Russian wanted to talk to a U.S. government representative immediately, but Dulles had a date with a young lady, so he declined the offer. The Russian turned out to be Nikolai Lenin, and Dulles used the incident to urge the young CTs always to be alert to the possible importance of people they meet in their work.

The Farm, disguised as a Pentagon research-and-testing facility, indeed resembles a large military reservation. Barracks, offices, classrooms, and an officers' club are grouped around a central point. Scattered over its 480 mostly wooded acres are weapons ranges, jump towers, and a simulated closed border of a mythical communist country. Away from these facilities are heavily guarded and off-limits sites, locations used for super-secret projects such as debriefing a recent defector, planning a special operation, or training an important foreign agent who will be returning to his native

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meet the rebels Solzhenitsyn didn't write about... the lusty, passionate artists of Moscow's Bohemia

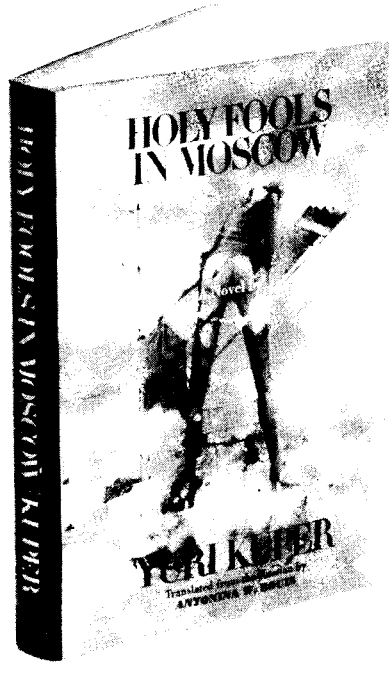
HOLY FOOLS IN MOSCOW

BY YURI KUPER

Solzhenitsyn exposed the brutality of the Russian political system and took us through the horrors of its asylums and jails. Now, Yuri Kuper, an artist who emigrated from Russia in 1971, presents another side of the Russian freedom fight—the battle for artistic freedom, as it's fought in the Russian Bohemia . . . where the battle zones are the studios and cafés, homes, streets and beds of Russia's poets, painters, sculptors, actors and screenwriters.

HOLY FOOLS IN MOSCOW, Kuper's new novel, takes you into the inner circle of Russian artists, the fighting, cursing group of Russians ruled by the passions of their imagination and intellect . . . and their libidos. You'll discover a Russia few Westerners see . . . a Russia of bawdy, singing, tortured souls, who hibernate each long winter in the warmth of vodka and each other's arms.

You'll meet some of Russia's most fiery and talented artists, hear their gossip about the current great Moscow reputations, and see how they fight the absurd dictates of government bureaucracy with wit and courage. HOLY FOOLS IN MOSCOW takes you into the smoke-filled rooms where artists crowd each other at tables covered in vodka bottles and poetry sheets . . . bedrooms where writers explore the limits of their passions away from the barren political-postered streets of the city . . . to a dormitory of love-hungry lesbians who work in a cannery each day and gather to find some cheer each night under glaring naked lightbulbs in rooms plastered with Russian movie stars' photos. These are the hidden Russians: the city and their lives are the prisons and asylums they're condemned to. And now you can read about their passionate struggle for creative freedom and a life of their own making. Written by a man who was one of them. $7.95 at bookstores.



NYT

Quadrangle / The New York Times Book Co.

10 East 53rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country to spy for the CIA.

All the CTs receive some light-weapons training, and those destined for paramilitary duties receive a full course which includes instruction in explosives and demolition, parachute jumps, air and sea operations, and artillery training. This paramilitary training is also taken by the contract soldiers (who greatly resent being called "mercenaries") who have been separately recruited for special operations. They join the CTs for some of the other courses, but generally tend to avoid the younger and less experienced recent college graduates who make up the bulk of the CT ranks. Many of these mercenaries and a few of the CTs continue on for an advanced course in explosives and heavy weapons given at a CIA training facility in North Carolina. Postgraduate training in paramilitary operations is conducted at Fort Bragg in North Carolina and at Fort Gulick in the Panama Canal Zone.

[FRINGE BENEFITS]

Although agency personnel hold the same ratings and receive the same salaries as other government employees, they do not fall under Civil Service jurisdiction. The Director has the authority to hire or fire an employee without any regard to normal governmental regulations, and there is no legal appeal to his decisions. In general, however, it is the CIA's practice to take extremely good care of the people who remain loyal to the organization. There is a strong feeling among agency management officials that they must concern themselves with the welfare of all personnel, and this feeling goes well beyond the normal employer-employee relationship in the government or in private industry. To a certain extent, security considerations dictate this attitude on the part of management, since an unhappy or financially insecure employee can become a potential target for a foreign espionage agent. But there is more to it than that. Nearly everyone seems to believe: *We're all in this together and anyone who's on the team should be taken care of decently.* The employees probably feel a higher loyalty to the CIA than members of almost any other agency feel for their organization. Again, this is good for security, but that makes the sentiments no less real.

If a CIA employee dies, an agency security officer immediately goes to his or her house to see that everything is in order for the survivors (and, not incidentally, to make sure no CIA documents have been taken home from the office). If the individual has been living under a cover identity, the security officer insures that the cover does not fall apart with the death. Often the security man will even help with the funeral and burial arrangements.

For banking activities, CIA employees are encouraged to use the agency's own credit union, which is located in the headquarters building. The union is expert in giving loans to clandestine operators under cover, whose personal-background statements are by definition false. In the rare instance when an employee forfeits on a loan, the credit union seldom prosecutes to get back the money: that could be breach of security. There is also a special fund, supported by annual contributions from agency officers, to help fellow employees who accidentally get into financial trouble.

The credit union also makes various kinds of insurance available to CIA employees. Since the agency does not wish to give outsiders any biographical information on its personnel, the CIA provides the insuror with none of that data that insurance companies normally demand, except age and size of policy. The agency certifies that all facts are true—even that a particular employee has died—without offering any proof. Blue Cross, which originally had the agency's health-insurance policy, demanded too much information for the agency's liking, and in the late 1950s the CIA switched its account to the more tolerant Mutual of Omaha. Agency employees are even instructed not to use the airplane-crash insurance machines available at airports, but to purchase such insurance from the credit union.

Attempts are made even to regulate the extracurricular activities of agency employees—to reinforce their attachment to the organization and, of course, for security reasons. An employee-activity association (incorporated for legal purposes) sponsors programs in everything from sports and art to slimnastics and karate. The association also runs a recreational travel service, a sports and theater ticket service, and a discount sales store. The CIA runs its own training programs for reserve military officers, too. And it has arranged with local universities to have its own officers teach college-level and graduate courses for credit to its employees in the security of its headquarters building.

The CIA can be engagingly paternal in other ways, too. On the whole, it is quite tolerant of sexual dalliance among its employees, as long as the relationships are heterosexual and not with enemy spies. In fact, the CIA's medical office in Saigon was known during the late 1960s for its no-questions-asked cures of venereal disease, while State Department officers in that city avoided the embassy clinic for the same malady because they feared the consequences to their careers of having VD listed on their personnel records.

In many other ways the CIA keeps close watch over its employees' health. If a CIA officer gets sick, he can go to an agency doctor or a "cleared" outside physician. If he undergoes surgery, he frequently is accompanied into the operating room by a CIA security man who makes sure that no secrets are revealed under sodium-pentothol anesthesia. If he has a mental breakdown, he is required to be treated by an agency psychiatrist (or a cleared contact on the outside) or, in an extreme case, to be admitted to a CIA-sanctioned sanitarium. Although no statistics are available, mental breakdowns seem more common in the agency's tension-laden atmosphere than in the population as a whole, and the CIA tends to have a more tolerant attitude than the general public toward mental-health problems and psychiatric therapy. In the Clandestine Services, breakdowns are considered virtually normal work hazards, and employees are encouraged to return to work after they have completed treatment. Usually no stigma is attached to illness of this type; in fact, Richard Helms suffered a breakdown when he was still with the Clandestine Services during the 1950s and it clearly did not hurt his career. Ex-Clandes-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I enclose $_____ to help the farmworkers survive the coming weeks or months without a working wage.

☐ I would like to help with the boycott of grapes and iceberg lettuce. Please send me more information.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____

Make Checks Payable to "United Farm Workers Union" and mail to:
United Farm Workers Union
P.O. Box 62, Keene, Ca. 93531

Call (415) 864-5613 for more information

Summer's coming. Time to sit back and relax with a bottle of your favorite wine.

We hope it's not Gallo wine, though. Because Gallo rips off its workers. The nation's farmworkers built a union to fight for their rights, but Gallo is trying to destroy that union. You can help stop them.

Don't stop drinking wine, but please don't drink Gallo wine. There are plenty of good, inexpensive union wines to choose from — Italian Swiss Colony, Almaden, Christian Brothers and more.

Try some of them this summer. You'll feel a lot better.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tine Services chief Frank Wisner had a similar illess, and he later returned to work as the CIA station chief in London.

Many agency officials are known for their heavy drinking—which also seems to be looked upon as an occupational hazard. Again, the CIA is more sympathetic to drinking problems than outside organizations. Drug use, however, remains absolutely taboo.

While the personnel policies and benefits extended by the CIA to its employees can be justified on the grounds of national security and the need to develop organizational loyalty, these tend to have something of a personal debilitating effect on the career officers. The agency is unconsciously viewed as an omniscient, omnipotent institution—one that can even be considered infallible. Devotion to duty grows to fanaticism; questioning the decisions of the authorities is tantamount to religious blasphemy. Such circumstances encourage bureaucratic insulation and introversion (especially under strong pressures from the outside), and they even promote a perverse, defensive attitude which restricts the individual from keeping pace with significant social events occurring in one's own nation—to say nothing of those evolving abroad. Instead of continuing to develop vision and sensitivity with regard to their professional activities, the career officers become unthinking bureaucrats concerned only with their own comfort and security, which they achieve by catering to the demands of the existing political and institutional leaderships—those groups which are able to provide the means for such personal ends. □

ECONOMIC ILLUSIONS

(From page 33)

tion's productive mechanism were underemployed, i.e., if assets were already going to waste by their manifest non-employment. The crucial error was made of confusing wastage effects in an economy operating far below its limits with those in an economy operating very close to its limits, the limits determined by the society's institutional forms and relationships. In the former case, the wastage was transferred from underemployed capital and labor resources to destruction, unproductive consumption, of products already in excess. In the latter, no such transfer could take place. Inflation must of necessity occur unless there were some safety valve by which consumption pressures could be reduced.

For years, that safety valve was the transmission to foreign countries of excess, unconsumable dollar incomes generated in the United States. In brief, the principal export of the United States was inflation. This process came to an end after March 1, 1973, when foreign central banks declared the dollar to be an unwanted asset. After that date, inflation within the United States became no longer avoidable. It was inevitable because the safety valve was gone. All that was needed was a precipitant. That precipitant was a sudden short-fall of products: first of farm products, brought about by shipment of the U.S. grain reserve overseas, with consequences with which we are all familiar; second, by the oil embargo whose effects we have all experienced.

As a result, the United States appears to have been plunged suddenly into disturbing, and potentially disastrous, economic turmoil. This appearance is false, but only in the sense of its suddenness. The sickness was present before it became evident to all of us, but it was cloaked, and even held in check, by artifices and strategems. Those artifices no longer work. The nation is now faced with the reality that its own self-appraisal, and its estimation of the necessary role of government in the conduct of the society, have been wide of the mark. The society has been ungoverned, uncontrolled, as though on a protracted national binge.

Inflation has followed. That inflation is deeply rooted not only in the structure but in the very thought processes of the nation. Yet even Americans have been shocked when public utilities have pleaded with the people to reduce their consumption of electrical power and, succeeding in their plea, have demanded rate increases because of falling sales.

The American inflation is a quantification of the deformations in the society itself. It may well be beyond control because it is the cumulative consequence of years of greed, erroneous social analysis, and the flawed policies which have resulted. Has the nation already forgotten the assurances expressed in the theory of "built in stabilizers" in the economy? The fact is that self-deception has for decades been practiced by honest men. Public deception has been the inescapable result.

Examine the case of the national debt. People are concerned about it, both in and out of government. But who has told the people the truth about it? On the surface—but only on the surface—it seems reasonably under control. At the close of 1972, the interest-bearing marketable public debt—that portion which has to be sold to the public to finance federal deficits—approximated $270 billion compared with $138 billion in 1951, close to a doubling. Population, however, had increased almost 35 percent and consumer prices had risen 61 percent. On a per capita basis, and adjusted for price changes, the marketable public debt had actually declined by 10 percent.

Comforting? Things are not quite that simple. In 1951 the average maturity of this debt was 6 years 7 months. In 1972 it was 3 years 4 months, and was continuing its shrinkage. The average rate of needed annual debt recycling had doubled, and debt due within one year had risen from $44 billion to $122 billion. Average length of debt was growing shorter and shorter; an increasing proportion was falling within the 12 months schedule of repayment. Three-months Treasury bills in 1951 had yielded 1.552 percent for new issues and 9-12 months bills 1.73 percent. In 1972, 3-month bills yielded 4.071 percent (the yield rose to 5.061 percent on average for 1973 and to 7.775 percent in February 1974.) Using 1972 data in order to avoid alarmist exaggeration of effects, the debt due within 12 months plus interest thereon was about $128 billion compared with some $44.6 billion in 1951, for a per capita interest and principle requirement in 1972 slightly more than 2.1-times what it had been in 1951.

This may sound abstruse. What it really means is that the federal govern-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment has had to become increasingly active in the competition with industry for loan funds. As the debt maturity schedule has shortened, the government has had to come to market more often. The more frequently this occurs, the higher the interest rates which all borrowers, government included, have to pay. The upshot: the prime rate to especially sound customers at commercial banks has already risen above 11 percent per annum. The bank rate charged by the Federal Reserve Board to banks which borrow from it has been increased to 8 percent. Three-months Treasury bills, on April 28, yielded 8.909 percent, a far cry from the 1.552 percent of 1951 and almost immeasurably distant from the 0.014 percent yield of 1940. The stabilizers have become unstabilizers. Government finance has not yet reached, but is racing towards, the point of crisis.

Clearly, fundamental changes have occurred in the U.S. economy. More properly, the soothsaying of the seers no longer tranquilizes, and deeply justified fears are in the making. Those few among us who could and did predict this evolution years ago were received coldly by a public besotted with paper money, and were denounced by our academic colleagues as alarmists unskilled in modern money management. We expected and accepted this, for we saw clearly that self-deception was the popular mode and that those of us not addicted to statistical illusions would have to bide our time before a hearing could be gained. I, for example, concluded my work, *What the Vietnam War Has Cost,* with the warning, "By the time this war is over, the United States will be left with nothing but brute force with which to treat with friend and foe alike."* That injunction was disregarded as a foundation for policy delineation. One simply could not break through a crust of complacency reinforced with theoretical barrenness.

[THE BILL FALLS DUE]

Unthink, however, has its price, and its bill is now being presented. The suddenly visible changes in America, which have belied the euphoric expectations of past years, comprehend changed relations between this country and the world outside, between government and industry, industry and the banks, the banks and commercial borrowers, corporations and consumers, and between the people and the government. These changed relations, essentially economic, are translating into unpredictable political changes, into transformations of the social form itself. Complacency and insensitivity have given way to hypersensitivity, to gloom, foreboding, and suspicion.

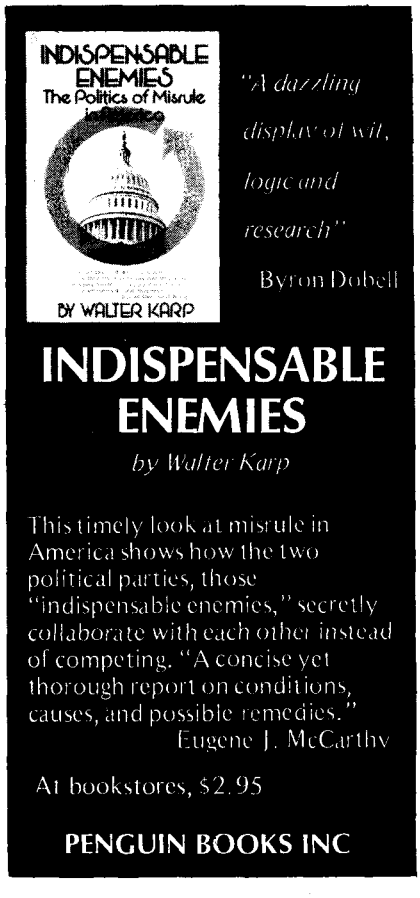
The new hypersensitivity is extraordinary, and is producing most unusual speculations. Financial publications, for example, have observed that beef at retail has declined 24.5¢ a pound from its February 1974 high. Their explanations, at least tentatively, include rumor that India, with 230 million head of cattle (whose caloric intake could feed adequately more than one billion people) and with restrictions on cattle slaughter in all of its 21 states and total prohibition of cattling killing in 10 of them, is contemplating the sale abroad of cattle on the hoof. Any rumor, however wild, is given credence today, a total inversion of the smugness and stilted self-confidence of even two years ago.

This attitude is as dangerous as the unwarranted optimism of the past, as unthinking and as devoid of analysis of processes. Things are bad, no doubt. They are not as bad as they will become if panic is substituted for euphoria. The time has come for thought, and for deliberate decision making, for long-range as well as short-range planning. Underlying such thought must be the perception that monetary inflation and price inflation are not identical, that monetary inflation can be experienced even while product prices for a time fall. The two must be distinguished.

Farm product prices, for example, have already fallen from their season's highs. Wheat futures in Chicago are down 35 percent; corn, 23 percent; oats, 32 percent; soybeans, 37 percent; iced broilers, 27.5 percent; feeder cattle, 20 percent; and so forth. The price inflation may be drawing to a close, to stabilize at lower levels than today but higher than before the oil embargo, assuming Soviet crops are not injured by abnormal weather conditions and unusual demand for U.S. grains is not thus created.

What might this mean to the people, especially in the short-run? Lower prices will be cold comfort if they are accompanied by rising unemployment, and more unemployment seems in prospect because of today's interest rates. Even the 11½ percent prime rate does not express the true interest rate. Some borrowers, you see, are required to leave on deposit with the lender 15 to 20 percent of what they borrow as what is termed "compensating balances." Their real, effective borrowing rate can therefore not be computed readily. It could be as high as an effective 13 percent for prime borrowers and 15+ percent for less creditworthy enterprises and businesses.

Because of these extraordinary interest rates, falling prices could catch many businesses in a liquidity squeeze, especially if they have borrowed against inventories whose values have become questionable or as recourse loans against receivables owed to them by customers themselves caught by falling inventory values. The


INDISPENSABLE ENEMIES
The Politics of Misrule
BY WALTER KARP
"A dazzling display of wit, logic and research"
Byron Dobell
INDISPENSABLE ENEMIES
by Walter Karp
This timely look at misrule in America shows how the two political parties, those "indispensable enemies," secretly collaborate with each other instead of competing. "A concise yet thorough report on conditions, causes, and possible remedies."
Eugene J. McCarthy
At bookstores, $2.95
PENGUIN BOOKS INC

* *New University Thought,* **1967.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

information needed to reach judgment over this question simply does not yet exist. It is doubtful that the banks themselves are at all clear about the matter. Hence the increase in interest rates to compensate for increased risks. If this inference is correct, product prices could be driven down because rising interest rates, by making production unprofitable, could cause hasty but unavoidable liquidation of inventories in the attempt to conserve corporate assets and to meet current liabilities, with self-evident effects on employment and output.

Is this going to take place? I do not know but I suspect so. And where it will strike I cannot tell and will make no attempt to foretell. Used-car dealers are obviously in trouble, with used cars down 10 percent in price. More critically, public utilities cannot raise the capital they need for even moderate expansion and, in some instances, to meet higher fuel bills and to recycle debt. Con Edison of New York, for example, has been compelled to suspend quarterly dividend payments for the first time since 1885. Its common stock, as a result, fell from a high of 49¾ in 1965 to a low of 12 on April 22, 1974, with a 6-point decline (33-1/3 percent) on that one day. It has fallen further since, under panic selling—290,900 shares on April 29 alone. Con Ed has become uncreditworthy. The State of New York has had to relieve it of the prospective cost burden of its proposed nuclear power facilities—to the tune of some $500 million—assuming the nuclear plant will ever be completed, and the costs of its construction do not rise, which they will.

One banker has expressed expectation of a 12 percent prime rate, equal after compensating balances to an effective 14 to 15 percent yield on loans to borrowers of highest credit, at which cost of money consumer loans could rise above an effective 20 percent yield and small businesses would not be able to borrow at all. The effects on mortgage availability, hence on new housing starts, are obvious.

Things have gone wrong and the system, by what engineers call positive feedback, has moved into instability, an instability increased by reliable reports that, whatever the United States might choose to do, Europe is going to revalue its monetary gold assets at something close to gold's free market price. That is, Europe is going to break the last of its remaining ties to the U.S.-dominated Bretton Woods system, compelling this country to make decisions of crucial importance.

The nation had better take great care that the changes it brings about by political decision correspond to the necessities for change, not to preconceptions as to what changes are desirable but in correspondence with the realities of the situation. Otherwise, what is now a public unrest may become magnified into a mindless storm of destructiveness which will bury bourgeois and socialist alike. We have very little time before the assessment for past failure to plan the course of the country must be paid in full.

Terence McCarthy is a consulting economist who until recently taught at Columbia University.

Read the HEALTH/PAC BULLETIN

Articles about:

- **National Health Insurance**
- **Prison Health**
- **Women's Health**
- **Health in China**
- **Occupational Health and Safety**
- **Federal Health Policy**

HEALTH/PAC is a research organization which has analyzed the American health system since 1968. Subscriptions to the Bulletin are $7 a year. Write to:

HEALTH/PAC
558 Capp Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

17 Murray Street
New York, N.Y. 10007

HEALTH INSURANCE

(From page 28)

Liberal opponents of Nixon's CHIP bill won't find much encouragement in Congress this year. The Long-Ribicoff bill offers even less than Nixon's: it is a straightforward catastrophic insurance plan, coupled with some reforms in Medicaid. And Edward Kennedy, now pushing the Kennedy-Mills bill of 1974, has retreated headlong from his earlier proposal for government financing without private insurance intermediaries, without deductibles, and without coinsurance. Organized labor still enthusiastically supports the original Kennedy bill, is angry with Kennedy for what they view as a sell-out, and now hopes to delay NHI until after the 1974 elections, when the Congress is expected to become more liberal.

The Kennedy-Mills bill differs from Nixon's in its financing by social security and taxes, and in its administration by a new, independent Social Security Administration. But private insurance companies are allowed to play the intermediary role they presently perform in Medicare. And like the Nixon bill, there are stiff deductibles and coinsurance. With the exception of preventive and children's services, a patient would receive no benefits until he had spent $150 a year (or a maximum of $300 per family) in medical expenses. Then he would have to pay 25 percent of succeeding costs until he had paid a maximum out-of-pocket cost of $1,000 per year. This maximum liability is graduated according to income. Just as with the Nixon plan, the Kennedy-Mills bill is firm on the principle of "disincentive."

[FOR HEALTH OR PROFIT]

Of the $94 billion that Americans spent for health in 1973, 10 percent—more than $9 billion—went for profits. Drug companies earn over $600 million in profits each year and spend $1.5 billion more in advertising. The health insurance industry collected $25.7 billion in premiums in 1972 and paid out only $21 billion in health care benefits. The companies kept $4.7 billion for administration, advertising and profits. With doctors making an average of $10,000 per year more than highly trained pro-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who washes the media's dirty linen?

When Roger Mudd prepared a script on the reasons CBS management dropped instant analysis of Presidential speeches, did network officials allow Mudd's report on the air?

You bet they didn't.

The only place that script appeared was in the pages of (MORE) magazine.

And when Spiro Agnew got the publisher of *The Baltimore Sun* to kill reporter Gordon Chaplin's story on the marketing of government improvements on Agnew's house, who printed that story—and the reasons for its suppression?

(MORE) magazine.

When news of the secret bombings in Cambodia lost out in press coverage to the Watergate scandal, who went after Clifton Daniel, Washington bureau chief for *The New York Times*, to get the answer: "I don't know that there's any news in it... Who's going to sue President Nixon for bombing some peasants in Cambodia?"

(MORE) published the quote and the whole sorry story.

The media may occasionally rise to greatness when exposing the foibles of government and big business, but they can be equally great at whitewashing their own dirty linen.

(MORE) has shown repeatedly that the shining knights of the communications industry are more than slightly soiled. While we can't clean up the dirty dealings, we do a damn good job of exposing them to public view.

In the past few months we've investigated:

- David Rockefeller and the Media: Few Cows Are As Sacred
- *The Houston Post* and *Chronicle*: Gushing Over Oil
- Restoring Mr. Agnew at *The Times*
- "Meet the Press:" The Promotion Game
- Giving TV Back to the Indians
- How They Edit at *Esquire*
- The Politics of Leakmanship
- How IBM Spindles the Media

And in the coming months, we'll cover:

- Ken Clawson's White House Media Operation
- The Marketing of Watergate
- A Profile of *Rolling Stone*
- The Media and the Symbionese Liberation Army
- The Slow Decline of Dick Cavett
- Hank Greenspun and the *Las Vegas Sun*
- Inside the *National Enquirer*
- Simpleminded American Foreign Policy Reporting

We attack sloppy, censored, insipid reportage wherever we find it. If the media fail in their obligation to seek out the facts, we do the job for them. If pressure behind the scenes has altered a news story, we try to find out who applied it, and why.

And our writers are among the most lively, literate and lucid being published today, among them *Michael Arlen, Charlotte Curtis, Nora Ephron, David Halberstam, Nicholas von Hoffman, Jane Howard, Brit Hume, Murray Kempton, Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, Anthony Lewis, Stuart Loory, J. Anthony Lukas, Joe McGinniss, Victor Navasky, George Reedy, Richard Reeves, Richard Schickel, Studs Terkel, and Calvin Trillin.*

If you still believe you can find the whole truth and nothing but the truth in the papers you read and the broadcasts you listen to, then you've really been taken to the cleaners.

Get to know (MORE).

Our facts are never laundered.

And we never use soft soap.

[MORE]

P.O. Box 576, Ansonia Station
New York, NY 10023 **R-1**

I'll take the facts over whitewash any day. Send me (MORE).
One year (12 issues), $10.
☐ Check enclosed.
☐ Bill me later.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

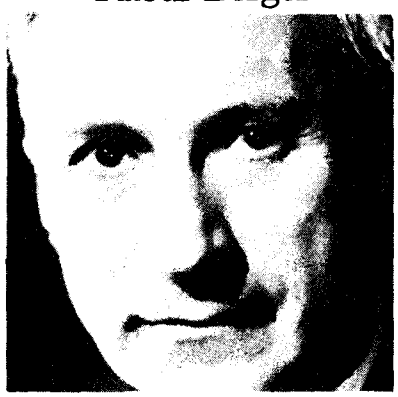
fessionals in other fields their total excess earnings are $2 billion. Nursing homes, proprietary hospitals and medical supply companies together earn $600 million in profits.

And that's only the financial part of the picture. What about the two million needless operations performed each year that serve only to bring more income to surgeons? What about the 30 percent of days spent in the hospital that are unnecessary, costing $100 per patient per day and leading to the expensive overbuilding and overequipping of hospitals? What about the 60 percent of drug prescriptions that have no therapeutic value at all, prescribed because doctors receive most of their postgraduate education from drug company representatives and advertisements? According to testimony by Melvin Glasser of the United Auto Workers before the Senate Finance Committee in 1971, "Approximately 20 percent of the total national expenditures for health, personal health services, is wasted, down the drain of unnecessary hospitalization, needless surgery, duplication of facilities, fragmentation and duplication of administrative costs." Twenty percent means close to $20 billion in 1973.

Not only are these profit distortions expensive, they actually cause many people to die. At least 10,000 people die each year from operations that should never have been performed; tens of thousands die from the side effects of drugs that should never have been prescribed. Both of these excesses are closely linked to the profits of surgeons and drug companies. Profit-making in health care is an extremely risky activity, and those of us who take the risks don't reap the benefits.

National health insurance is no cure for harmful profits. In fact, most of the plans are designed to increase profits. "If the Administration's bill passes . . . two years after implementation starts . . . health insurors could collect double their present annual premium income," estimates *Business Week*. The *Wall Street Journal* quotes a spokesman of William Witter and Company, "Medical stocks should be a prime benefit of health insurance in the 1970s as they were in the 1960s with Medicare and Medicaid."

Executive Privilege:
A Constitutional Myth
Raoul Berger



"...penetrating to the heart of the great issues of presidential power."
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

$14.95
Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

[A QUESTION OF CONTROL]

National health insurance is bound to arrive in one form or another; and undoubtedly it will help some people pay for medical services which they would otherwise not get. But it is sure to have as many negative as positive effects. In the first place it will be a mechanism to funnel money out of the pockets of workers and taxpayers into the hands of the people who now run (and mis-run) the health service delivery system—the doctors, the hospital administrators, and the medical-industrial complex. It will thus strengthen those forces that insist that all health care must center on the doctor and the hospital, rather than the forces who wish to totally reorganize the delivery of health care.

At the same time, NHI will solve nothing. Like Medicare and Medicaid, it will feed the galloping medical inflation. Costs will soar while patient care improves slightly if at all. NHI will not guarantee a personal physician for everyone, will not redistribute health personnel to rural and inner city areas, will not improve the quality of health services. The experience of Medicaid shows that financing health care for the poor does not make care available. In New York City, 4 percent of doctors collect 87 percent of Medicaid money, and in Ohio, less than 4 percent of hospitals take 45 percent of Medicaid cases. Medicaid patients are still forced into overcrowded public hospitals, into teaching institutions looking for "research material," and into the offices of high-volume, low-quality ghetto physicians. Suburban practitioners and hospitals are free to reject any low-income patients that manage to find their way out of the central city. Thus the two-class health system can be expected to continue under NHI.

NHI will fail because it fails to face the fundamental question about our health system—control. No attempt is made to take the power away from the private delivery system, to put the care of public health where it belongs—in public hands. Public funding is not enough; the system itself must be public.

For what it will someday be worth, here are some principles to guide a public system of health care:

Everyone in the country would be covered.

All services would be paid for, including medical, dental, eyeglasses, hospital and nursing home care, mental health, drugs and preventive health care. There would be no out-of-pocket expenses. Care would be free at the time of service.

Health care would be financed by a national tax that spared people with low incomes and modest savings. Those most able to pay would be taxed at a higher rate than those less able to pay.

Health care would be offered in community health centers in every neighborhood and town, open when most needed. These health centers would be linked to hospitals and medical centers for complicated illnesses. Recent graduates of medical and nursing schools would be obligated to work in communities without enough health personnel. Many more general or family-oriented doctors would be trained so that everyone had a personal physician.

Health centers and hospitals would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be public and run by the people they cared for. People using a health facility would join with people working there to choose a policy-making board. The boards of each health center and hospital would receive money collected by the national tax and decide how best to use the money.

No profit making by institutions or individuals would be allowed. Doctors and other health workers would receive reasonable but not excessive salaries. Drug and equipment producers would be nationalized. With health care financed by equitable taxes, insurance companies wouldn't be needed at all.

Of course, even this kind of fundamental change in the health system wouldn't be enough to insure good health. Social and environmental factors such as poverty, racism, poor nutrition, occupational hazards and pollution are major causes of disease, and true prevention of illness requires a solution to those problems.

[WHERE TO BEGIN]

No one expects any kind of ideal health legislation to pass Congress as it is now constituted. But legislation isn't the only way to improve things. Hospitals and medical centers receive billions of dollars from the government and will receive billions more under national health insurance. How these powerful institutions use this money depends on who runs them.

People who hope to build a public system of health care can begin by gaining public control over public funds. That means forcing hospitals and medical centers to use all their money for service and none of it for profit and prestige.

Already, people are beginning to organize to affect the way health institutions spend their money. In Seattle, a coalition of Indians, merchant seamen, free clinic staffs and hospital employees has pressured the Public Health Service Hospital to care for thousands of lower-income patients free of charge, and is now working toward control over the hospital's priorities. At Lincoln Hospital in a New York City ghetto, all the workers in certain clinics and wards hold regular meetings in an attempt to determine how these portions of the hospital are run. In the hills of eastern Kentucky, a group of patients succeeded in terminating a $1.3 million per year federal program that was enriching doctors and hospitals and providing no care in the creeks and hollows where people live; for far less money people started a health center of their own, one readily accessible to people in rural areas.

It takes time to chip away at the enormous power of the big hospitals, Blue Cross plans, medical schools, and other institutions that control so much of American health care. But it can be done. There will be no other way to convert the billions of national health insurance dollars away from privilege and profits and to turn those billions into good health for us all.

Copyright © 1974 by Health-PAC, an organization which has been researching the American health system since 1968. Ronda Kotelchuck and Thomas Bodenheimer are staff members of Health-PAC's New York and San Francisco offices respectively.

LETTERS

(From page 4)

shit"; they are puttin' their very *lives* on the lines, to *do* ("radical-revolution") what *you* $3-bill "leftists," can only rave about. Those people are giving *back*, exactly what's bein' dished out by those now in power.

Damn it, I used to *dig* yuh–*Please: retract* that last buncha crap.

Johnny Balcom
San Luis Obispo, CA.

Editors:

Reading "The Symbionese Liberation Army: Terrorism and the Left" (May 1974) has left me with divided feelings. After eight years of nonviolent struggle against fascism and the corporate state, I am experiencing a strong sense of deja vu–a challenge to the passive resistance, mass education principles which have characterized the tenor of my dissent. The arguments seem agonizingly familiar, but the answers are not so easy any more. I must confess a certain ignorance with the Foster case, and events in the Hearst kidnapping cast a peculiar light upon the characterization of your article. But neither event, by itself, deals with the fundamental challenge inherent in the existence of the SLA.

I would have hoped that *Ramparts* could have escaped the hysterial fear which seems to be gripping the ordained leadership of the left, and confined itself to a more rational presentation. I was impressed with your recognition that "the SLA's emergence is directly attributable to the collapse of the organized left at the end of the Sixties, and its continuing failure to regroup itself and revive." But the pregnant questions of why the collapse, and why the continuing failure to regroup and revive, go begging. Instead, I read a long polemic on tactical errors, misconceptions, "doomed strategy," and moral outrages committed by the SLA. Your efforts appear to be directed at creating an aversion to rather than an understanding of the SLA. And your teasing "exposé" reveals more about the editors than the members of the SLA.

Nancy Ling Perry is burdened, she is uprooted, she is concerned. Nancy Ling Perry is described as a "personality" who is "up against the wall," whose vision of "the prison beyond the prison walls" is a literal truth. Or perhaps, are the editors unburdened, well-rooted in a system of ego gratification and economic reward, confidently free to pursue their rhetorical crusades where walls remain metaphors? And perhaps the fear and anxiety have produced this disjointed denigration of the SLA which would be more familiar if it had appeared in *Newsweek* or *The National Review.*

But I'm afraid it will all matter very little. As you pointed out, Nancy Ling Perry is a part of an increasingly bottomless reservoir. Time and events brush aside those of us who cling too longingly to the past. If the economic apocalypse expressed by Patty Hearst and often echoed by Terence McCarthy is only half achieved, few will remember Marcus Foster, Nancy Ling Perry, or the editors of *Ramparts.* Just remember as you write about the decline and fall of the American empire what Andrew Kopkind quoted from Izzy Stone: "It becomes like, you're a journalistic Nero fiddling while Rome burns, or like a small boy covering a hell of a big fire. It's just wonderful and exciting and you're a cub reporter and God has given you a big fire to cover."

"And you forget–that it's really burning."

Darrell Whitman
Jacksonville, Oregon

[MINDING THE STORE]

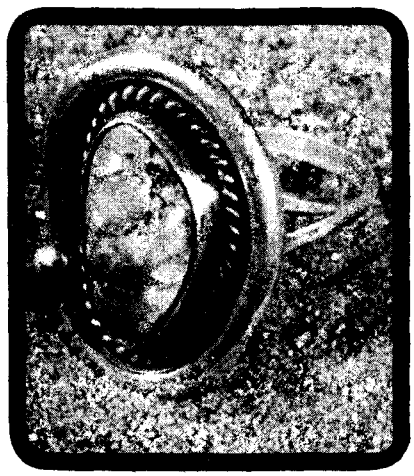
Editors:

Finally I am subscribing to *Ramparts.* I have been reading it for – ? – seven years. Meanwhile everything else on the Left that I have ever respected has gone through total changes. Including me. Now I am sitting at home; I have pictures on the wall of Weatherfugitives I have known, I have lying around me the attempt to come to terms with myself in sort of a memoir. And somebody is still putting out *Ramparts.* In a way it's a relief that during my vacation from activism, my excursion into critical introspection, somebody is keeping the shop open. In a way it's a challenge.

I guess you would want it to be more of a challenge, right? Look, your SLA article was really important. Because sitting in my muddleheaded memories, my exWeathermoods, I could almost admire that madness. "At least *they're* doing something," right? But of course they're not doing anything and certainly not anything worth doing.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUTHENTIC INDIAN JEWELRY!



$29.95

Treat yourself to hand-made Indian jewelry, or give someone you care about, something they'll love wearing such as this exquisite, expertly crafted and stylishly designed ring made of precious **gem turquoise** and **sterling silver**. Only **$29.95!** But supply is limited. Immediate delivery. 15 day money-back guarantee if it's not one of your favorite accessories. No two are exactly alike, because, after all, you deserve something special.

Lady Silver

1952 Manning Ave.
Los Angeles, Ca. 90025

Please rush me the following order. I understand that complete satisfaction is guaranteed, or I may return the jewelry within 15 days for my money back.

_____ ring(s) @ $29.95 ea.
qty.

Postage and insurance, add $1

I've enclosed ☐ check, or ☐ money order.
or charge to my
☐ Bankamericard ☐ Mastercharge

CA. residents add sales tax, Total $_____

Acct # _____ Exp._____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____ Zip_____

And you're right, the reason for that is that we don't have a Left in this country. Kopkind flashes this nicely every once in a while with pictures of a Left culture we don't have.

I am not a pessimist. I believe we can have a Left in this country, and a damn good one, a polycentric and liberating one. And I think that it is emerging from the millions of people who were affected by the explosions of 68-70, but of course it will not emerge spontaneously. At some point, it will have to do something, will have to take on definition again. At that point, we will see whether these potentially fertile years of lowlevel & informal consciousness raising and lifestyle explorations have been wasted. At that point, we will also need leadership, focal institutions. This is the work that you all are doing better than anybody else I can think of. Domhoff's article was a fine example; the conception is maybe narrow and premature, but then that's sort of the point; when the time returns, we should be ready to rise in full splendor, more conscious and wiser than ever.

I have nothing really bad to say about any of your recent issues. I only wish you could be much bigger, more crowded with different possibilities. Sure, the Third Sex article was sort of off the wall; and maybe you're USA chauvinists relating to Canada, etc., etc. You seem quite sufficiently self-critical and honest, and your letters column is generally reassuring. Given this basis of decency, I support your expanding into pretty much any area. Terence McCarthy is really vital stuff; I'm an old Oglesby fan—if you see him around, tell him at least one exWeatherfolk apologizes for our onetime contempt.

Larry Yates
Richmond, Va.

[AFRICAN FAMINE]

Editors:

The current drought in the Sahelo zone south of the Sahara is considered to be the worst natural disaster in Africa this century. For the last five years the 25 million people living in Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, and Chad have been in a relentless grip of an unprecedented drought. Ninety percent of the people in this Sahelian region are fishermen, farmers and herdsmen, all of whom have been severely and adversely affected by this situation.

Famine, disease and death now stalk this land where the people once managed to eke out a meager existence. Most have been forced from their homes and are now refugees on the outskirts of major cities. This region is faced not only with immediate need of feeding the hungry, but also of rehabilitating water and forage resources, livestock herds and grain producing facility and a long-range recovery from the devastating effects of the drought. The U.S. government has agreed to provide some assistance to states which request such assistance. This assistance is estimated to be in the vicinity of a few million dollars, a significant shortfall from what is needed. I believe that a major special commitment of financial, technical assistance is an absolute necessity to avoid mass starvation and enable these people to once again feed themselves.

In this period of detente our resources must be diverted from continuing the arms race to winning the battle against world hunger, poverty and disease. It is the issue of disparity between the rich and poor nations and not the east-west ideological differences that will pose the threat to international peace and security in the future.

Rep. Ronald Dellums
(Democrat–Calif.)
Washington, D.C.

[POOR RICHARD'S BLOOPERS]

Editors:

Mr. Nixon's speeches often contain sentences of unexpected meaning, which appear to be out of tune with the remainder. Most commentators who analyze his utterances ignore such bloopers or slips of the tongue, although sympathetic members of his audience have been known to remind the President that he misspoke himself. A few examples might be helpful: Over a decade ago, Mr. Nixon was reported to have reacted to the assassinations of President Kennedy and Lee Harvey Oswald with the remark "Two rights don't make a wrong." In a series of more recent speeches, he spoke of "John Ehrlichman being guilty until proven not guilty." of "discarding the discredited President (.. er .. the discredited present welfare system)" and of "the Constitution being very precise about what constitutes an impeachable defense."

If one assumes that the quotations paraphrased above represent errors in speech, which most listeners instinctively recognize as such, a real problem arises: What else in the address might also be an error in speech, which is not so easily recognizable? Again, a few examples will illustrate the point: During the last few months, the President said "I shall cooperate with the special prosecutor," "There should be no windfall profits for the oil industry" and "I am not a crook." Could these and many other statements belong to the previously cited category of slips or bloopers and how would we know? In his most recent address, when he described his efforts to uncover the Watergate affair, did his tongue slip when he said "This boil must be pricked"? Only a Freudian can know for sure.

Jonathan Quick
Berkeley, Calif.

[HARD WORK]

Editors:

I am a hard working man. I work at a local shipyard and you know how rough that can get. 8 hours a day is just about enough for anybody. Well, I read the article in your magazine, "In the Shadows of War . . . China's New Cultural Revolution [*Ramparts*, May 1974]. There were really a lot of things in this article I could take issue with but there was one thing which shook me up and stuck in my mind.

The letter by the young man Chiang Tieh-cheng to the *Liaoning Daily* in which

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he complained that he listened to Uncle Mao and went down to the farm, where he worked for almost 18 hours daily for two years. Consequently he forgot his schooling and did not pass the exams to the U.

Wow, 18 hours daily! If this is socialism, then who wants to live under socialism? It is shocking that 25 years after the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China there are still people who work such long hours. If this is the example of what Mao has to offer then give me Brezhnev's goulash communism.

Michael Rubin
Seattle, Wash.

[A SMALL PLACE]

Editors // A few nights ago, we were sitting in a small restaurant in Berkeley, California, listening to a young woman with a guitar and a clear voice singing sad, bittersweet songs. Her songs grew warmer and her audience quieter as the evening wore on. She sang Bob Dylan's "Just Like a Woman"; she sang about Mr. Bojangles; she sang about the things and in the sort of voice which seemed right for a small restaurant in Berkeley. When she was finished, my lady and I left to drive wordlessly across the Bay Bridge to a hill in San Francisco where we could watch the ships at night as we had done four years before when we came here for the first time.

It was a small evening; no big deal. A few bucks for a meal and 50 cents toll for the bridge. We sat on the hill until we got cold, then climbed in the car and drove back to Berkeley to relieve the baby sitter.

The baby sitter was at our kitchen table, studying a book on accounting. She was going back to business school, although she allowed as how she was a little hesitant about it because of memories of her ex-husband. He was making $60,000 a year by the time he was 29 and she didn't see too much of him. I had a friend like that too. He had a big house, tennis court, a swimming pool, a drinking pronlem, the whole trip. He worked from 6:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. six days a week, but I haven't seen him lately and maybe he doesn't have any of those things any more.

The baby sitter also said she read Wendy a story from Winnie-the-Pooh after they had drawn some pictures and Wendy had colored a cut-out teddy bear with her favorite crayon, burnt sienna.

The last time we drove across Wyoming, the hills were colored burnt sienna too. We stopped at some important national monument but had trouble parking because there were so many cars. We ended up back on Interstate 80 as it continued its plunge to the Pacific and we stopped for gas at a little town that had once been an outpost on the Overland Trail. It was now a grocery store and a Mobil station, but the old stone buildings of the fort were still there, as were the tall pines through which the 9ry wind howled as it must have 100 years ago. I've studied many glass-encased National Park Service descriptions of some historic landmark, but I never came closer to the frontier past than I did that afternoon in that small, unnoticed town.

Wounded Knee was a small place too, and we couldn't even let them have that, or be honest about what it meant. We slaughtered their people, ripped off their land, exploited their resources and their products, broke all our treaties, and forced them into "strategic hamlets." As if to prove the Hindu concept of eternal recurrence, it happened all over again in Vietnam.

What does it take to be Number One, and what is it ultimately worth? What is the human cost? Will we ever learn?

I put Wendy in bed tonight. She wanted Winnie-the-Pooh again and we read the last story in the book, where Christopher Robin goes off into the woods with his bear. I think she believes she will be like that, a little girl in an enchanted place at the top of the forest. I'd like to believe it too, for us all.

Paul Hagan
Berkeley, California

[NIXONOIA]

Tricia and Ed Cox reside in a luxury apartment located on New York's fashionable East Side. In the lobby live six Secret Service men, two each on three eight-hour shifts, sizing up visitors and managing an impressive array of surveillance equipment. The Secret Service men are bored to death.

"Mrs. Cox doesn't go out much these days," said one SS man. "Once when she didn't leave the apartment for three weeks we went out of our minds."

The corridor outside the Cox apartment is super-bugged. Occasionally the disembodied voice of a bored, lonely SS man from the lobby will boom good morning to a Cox neighbor who usually returns the greeting. Once, though, at 7 A.M. a little girl accompanying her father to the elevator was freaked out by the disembodied "good morning" and ran screaming back to mommy in the apartment, doubly terrified by the apology booming after her.

And once, for a horror-filled moment, the secret service men thought they were caught with their pants down. Their sound equipment picked up two persons skulking past the Cox apartment; the video equipment saw only one.

Within 30 seconds two panting SS men, guns drawn, were in the corridor. Confronting them were a young doctor and his pet rabbit. The rabbit, bored like SS men, had decided to accompany the doctor to work. Both doctor and rabbit were petrified. The rabbit defecated on the hallway rug; the doctor after receiving apologies staggered back to his apartment, as the SS men re-adjusted their video equipment so that no potential assassin disguised as a rabbit could get by.

This showdown between SS men and the MD and his rabbit quickly achieved mythic proportions. For weeks the talk on the elevators, at the mailbox, in the sauna room and at the pool recreated the encounter. Both doctor and rabbit, it seemed, reached for the sky when the gun barrels were thrust into their whiskers. The rabbit, who regained his voice first, is alleged to have said, "Don't shoot! I'm a registered Republican."

In the re-telling the SS men handcuffed the rabbit and after informing him of his rights took him down to headquarters.

"What did they do with the rabbit at headquarters?" a poker-faced tenant was asked.

"They grilled him," he said.

—Gene Ulansky

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE

Please include a Ramparts address label whenever you write us about your subscription.

ATTACH LABEL HERE

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

☐ 1 Year $12.00
☐ 2 Years $21.00
☐ New Order ☐ Renewal
Payment must be enclosed
☐ Change My Address to:

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

All subscription correspondence should be sent to:

Ramparts, *2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

PERSONALS

SLEEP-LEARNING-HYPNOTISM! Books tapes, equipment. Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-RM, Olympia, Washington 98501.

JAPANESE CORRESPONDENCE, FRIENDSHIP! Lovely girls' photographs, details, brochure, $1.00. Inter-Pacific, Box 304-RT, Birmingham, Michigan 48012.

Insurance offered altruistically. Auto, renters, business and life. G. D. "Jack" Martin, 415-632-2211, 6736 MacArthur Blvd., Oakland, Ca. 94605. California residents only.

JOHN CIESSLAR ("Crazy Donald") contact Steve Wagner or Dan Slick, Box 21, Goleta, 93017. (805)968-5365.

ZERO-HATE: The existence of that emotional creature (hate) (in our brains) may always be with us—but the (harmful-type) activation of this emotion (hatred(s)) EM. Depression, etc. is usually unnecessary. If you know "hateful type" persons, you should also know that their "hate" is probably MORE painful in THEIR brains than your painfully hateful reaction to their "original hate." If you want to take over control from this biochemical protection device, you will need a REAL friend. Write and/or exchange audio recordings. (UNECONOMIC) Address — S.C.S.E. (Scientific Emotionalism) and/or Jim (multiple choice), 13 Chestnut St., N.Y. Mills, N. Y. 13417.

WHAT'S YOUR GOAL IN LIFE? Considering the Catholic Priesthood? If so — I would like to hear from you. Write — Rev. J. Cavanaugh, 2249 Shore Road, Linwood, N. J. 08221.

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

ENGINEERS: Free introductory copy of SPARK magazine. Write: Committee for Social Responsibility in Engineering, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC 10027.

IMPEACH CAPITALISM! Nixon's only one cancer of an obsolescent system. We need SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION. Why? What? How? Read "THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC," a DIFFERENT magazine. Six issues for depreciating $2.00. Send no money now. Write immediately Box 825-A, N. Y., N. Y. 10010.

NEWS FROM CHINA every month thru 1974. Subscribe to: China Reconstructs (a family magazine in English) air mail $3, Peking Review (a political weekly) air mail $4.50, China Pictorial $4. Chinese Literature $4. Free samples on request. CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS, Dept. R., (3 locations) 2929-24th St., San Francisco, Ca. 94110; 125 - 5th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003; 900 Armitage Ave., Chicago, Il. 60614. FREE CATALOGUE.

PUBLISH your book! Join our successful authors: publicity, advertising, promotion, beautiful books. All subjects invited. Send for free manuscript report and detailed booklet. Carlton Press (Dept. VOS), 84 Fifth Ave., New York 10011.

VILLAGERS AT WAR: THE N.L.F. IN MY THO PROVINCE by David Hunt—a unique 190-page social history of the Vietnamese people in revolt. A special double issue of RADICAL AMERICA magazine. $2 from Upland Rd., Cambridge, Mass., 02140. Bi-monthly subs $5.00 yearly.

INTELLECTUALS! Hilarious, relevant satirical monthly at last! Send $1 for sample issue: "Sense of Humor," Box 3088, Grand Central, N.Y., N.Y. 10017.

BETTER read than lead: what a BALL — an occasional of underground poetry from thruout the u s — only 75c gets u a sample: crosscut saw, p o box 1217B, berkeley 94704.

READ THE GUARDIAN — newsweekly gives MARXIST viewpoint on national and international news. Special 8-Week trial sub., $1.00. GUARDIAN, Dept. A, 33 W. 17th Street, New York, New York 10011 (Full year $12.50, student $7.50).

ISRAEL & PALESTINE: English language news and opinion magazine devoted to justice for both sides. For trial issue send $1 to I & P, Boite Postale 130-10, 75463 Paris Cedex 10, France.

EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES & OPPORTUNITIES

CREATIVE SCIENCE, HUMANISTIC Psychology, Philosophy, Experimental Art. Blake College, 300½ North Jefferson, Eugene, Oregon 97402.

SUMMERHILLIAN high school for self-paced learners: ages 12-18. Mountain setting. Familial, boarding. Students choose from classes, independent study, apprenticeships, tutorials, outdoor work. Emphasis on freedom and responsibility, government in community meetings. Optional college preparation. Nethers Community School, Box 41, Woodville, Virginia 22749 (703) 987-9011, 9041.

LAND

You can still acquire Public Land FREE! Government Land Digest, Box 2217, Norman, OK 73069.

ACUPUNCTURE

ACUPUNCTURE TRAINING PROGRAM. Now home study course with supplies! Yuang, Box 219W, Toronto, Canada M6M 4Z2.

BUMPER STRIPS, POSTERS BUTTONS & T-SHIRTS

CARTOON T-SHIRTS!!! "SENATOR SAM ERVIN" by FISCHETTI, "CROOK", "I'M NOT A CROOK", "IMPEACH NIXON", "IMPEACHMENT WITH HONOR" by SANDERS, "EXORCISE NIXON", "TRICKY DICK", "RICHARD THE LYING HEARTED", 'DON'T BLAME ME, I VOTED DEMOCRATIC" 1/$4., 2/$7., 3/$10., 6/$18., (Sweatshirts, $6.95). SHIRT KING, Box 3893-R, Merchandise Mart, Chicago 60654.

MINI-STICKERS: "If you voted for Nixon, you can't shit here, your asshole is in Washington." 10/$1.00. BURK, Box 5213R, Willowick, Ohio 44094.

IMPEACH NIXON, NIXON FOR EX-PRESIDENT, IMPEACHMENT WITH HONOR, (BUMPERSTICKERS): 30/$5., 70/$10., 250/$25., 500/$39., 1,000/$69. BUMPERSTICKER: 63 East Chicago Avenue, Chicago 60611.

FUCK HOUSEWORK: illustrated poster, $1.75. Others. Free catalog. We also have adult comix catalog. Ask for it! S-T Mail-order, Box 1885, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106.

VINYL BUMPERSTICKERS! "Don't Blame Me—I Voted for McGovern," "Impeachment With Honor" (buttons, too!), "Visit $an Clemente (You Paid for It!)," "Jail To the Chief!" "Exorcise Nixon!," "Honk If You Think He's Guilty!" 2/$1.15, 6/$2.00, 20/$5. BULK/DEALER DISCOUNTS! CHECKERS ENTERPRISES, Box 942R, St. Louis, Mo. 63188.

NO AMNESTY FOR NIXON stickers, 18" x 3", 5/$1, 100/$10, 1000/$50. N.A.F.N.E., Box 804, Adelphi, Md.

"IMPEACH NIXON" Buttons, $7/100, $15/250, $25/500, $35/1000. BUTTON-KING, Box 3893-R, Merchandise Mart, Chicago 60654.

MOVEMENT INFORMATION

SILVER BULLION, GOLD Nuggets, Quality Non-Perishable Emergency Food Supplies. WRITE: Krumpe, Box 1227, Santa Barbara, Ca., COLLECT 805-687-3492.

KEYBOARD AND GUITARIST needed for Political Band in New Haven, Conn. (203) 389-1971; 1504 Blvd., 06511. Jennifer Abod

BULWARK FOR BODS. Compact spray device protects against hurtful violence. Non-Detrimental. Well-Being guaranteed. $4.95 ea. Rick Osterman, 4090 NW 5th St, Coconut Crk., Fla. 33063.

OZARK ACCESS CATALOG. Organic alternatives in the heart of America. Four-volume, 136-page set $5. Ozark Access Center, Box 506, Eureka Springs, Ark. 72632.

EMPLOYMENT & BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Travel, Adventure. Directory $1.00. Order today! Research Associates, Box 1167, Kailua, Hawaii 96734.

SERVICES

MIDDLE EAST Research Information Project: literature, speakers, monthly review. Box 48, Cambridge, Ma. 02138.

INSURANCE. All Types. Competitive Rates, Personal Service. Mark Kanter, 8455 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, California 90048. 213-651-3130.

POETS, "HANG YOURSELF!" Your favorite poem colorfully hand-scripted in beautiful Old English. Ready to frame. Just 10c per word. Garretson Graphics, Box 3032-C, York, Pa. 17402.

PRIMAL FEELING CENTER OF NEW ENGLAND, INC. 3 week individual intensive, followed by groups twice a week. For info and application write: RFD 2, Emerson Road, Milford, N.H. 03055. Or call (603) 673-4666.

TAPES, CASSETTES, RECORDS, MUSIC

TAPES on Women's Movement. Protest Music and Political Struggles. RADIO FREE PEOPLE, Dept. D, 133 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10012.

ROCK 'N' ROLLICKKING 45 RPM Watergate Satire "National Security Blues" $1.50 (Airmail); Linder Finearts, 2330 Kuhio, Honolulu 96815.

VACATIONS

WORLD FELLOWSHIPS — White Mountain and Catskill retreats for Establishment-weary city dwellers who dig exchanging weltanschauungs. Controversial speakers, discussions, films. Excellent cuisines. Nonprofit rates. Risque postcard! Send for candid brochure. Thanks. Box 1156, Kerhonkson, N.Y. 12446.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per Word (Single Insertion) 15-word Minimum	55c
Per Word 3 Consecutive Times in One Contract Year	50c
Per Word 6 Consecutive Times in One Contract Year	45c
Per Word 12 Consecutive Times in One Contract Year	40c

Payment in Advance
Classified Ads

RAMPARTS
2054 University Ave.
Berkeley, Calif. 94704

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ramparts

TO OUR NEWSSTAND READERS:
We thought you might like to see this letter which we recently sent to Ramparts subscribers.

Dear Subscriber,

It is our practice to write you occasional letters, telling you what's happening here at RAMPARTS, begging your indulgence or help, and commenting dolorously on the doings and undoings in the world of magazine publishing. Unfortunately for the country, most of our letters have described the way that print journalism is contracting; it has become for us a sort of symbol of hard times during the past few years. We have noted the disappearance of big city dailies; we have written obituaries for such giants as *Life* and the *Saturday Evening Post,* seeing in their passing an evil augury for free speech and informed opinion; and we have lamented the way that the conglomerate mentality trifled with Willie Morris's *Harper's* and left the *Saturday Review* twisting slowly in the wind. Through it all we have wondered, in A. J. Liebling's words, what good freedom of the press is if there isn't one.

But now some of the gloom has lifted. Watergate seems to have revived the press somewhat, and the Nixon strategy of subduing broadcast journalism and destroying the credibility of the *Post,* the *Times,* and other opinion-makers has failed. There is even a new magazine on the newsstands. Optimistically called *New Times,* it promises to provide the best of the New Journalism. It is the text for this sermon.

[DE RIGEUR JOURNALISM]

The New Journalism was a creature of the early Sixties, an attempt by writers to give print another dimension, to drop the pretense that human observers were ever impartial or value free, and to do justice to their feeling that the worlds of fact and fiction were closer than is usually let on. Tom Wolfe began it all, with essays that probed a whole range of cultural happenings: first the turf of Southern California hotrodders and surfers, and later the zonked-out domain of Ken Kesey's Merry Pranksters and Leonard Bernstein's guilt-ridden courtship of the Black Panthers. One was not often happy with what Wolfe said, but still delighted with his ability to say it. Then Norman Mailer swaggered into the arena, scorning such welterweight ephemera and instead taking on Sonny Liston, the character of the President, moonshots, and political conventions. He called himself "he," "Aquarius," or, more recently, "the biographer," and it soon became clear that Mailer was less interested in the event than in the way he confronted it. He made the vertical pronoun *de rigeur* in the New Journalism.

The reportage of Wolfe and Mailer hit the best-seller list. Truman Capote's *In Cold Blood* became required reading along with Jimmy Breslin's newspaper columns. *Esquire* was its cradle, but the magazine most closely identified with it was *New York,* which rose up from the ashes of the New York *Herald-Tribune's* Sunday Supplement.

New York was slick, well-edited, and plugged in to the best of the New Journalists. Clay Felker was the editor. George Hirsch was the publisher, fresh from *Time-Life.* After a shaky start, *New York* found its milieu and did well by almost every market standard. It achieved rising circulation at a time when the mass circulation magazines were suffering unto death; it made money and then went public. True, the decision to restrict its audience to New York may have seemed parochial, but then the publishing industry has always vaguely felt that the rest of the nation doesn't quite exist.

Yet when editor Felker and publisher Hirsch fell out, and Hirsch left to found a new magazine conceived in the style of *New York,* he vowed it would aim at a broad national audience. Moreover Hirsch audaciously decided to avoid the traditional fund-raising strategy used by most new magazines — to woo a handful of rich investors whose motives would not be profit, for profit was one thing that no magazine publisher could promise. Instead of chasing angels to support his new project, Hirsch went straight to the American countinghouses, the big banks. His move paid off — to the tune of $1.7 million. Among *New Times'* owners are Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, American Express, and the First National Bank of Boston.

Our intent is not to review *New Times* or to enviously gripe about its vast source of money, but to note that, rather than the beginning of something new, the story of *New Times* seems to be the end of something old, specifically the New Journalism. You will remember that we have never published much in this genre. We have respect for this kind of writing when done by skilled hands, but by now it seems to have become an orthodoxy.

This may sound strange coming from a magazine so often charged with being ideological, yet it is consistent. We fault the New Journalists with telling too little about what is actually going on and examining what can be done about it. The birth of *New Times* is an important event, but it hardly offers much hope for strengthening the dissenting press. On the contrary, we see the ability of this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

magazine to attract big bank investors as a certification of our intuition that the New Journalism has become a blue chip and is not only safe but potentially profitable.

This, no doubt, will call forth a charge of sour grapes or covetousness on our part. Let us precipitously plead innocent to the first charge and guilty to the second. Never in its short history has RAMPARTS wooed such institutional money, less out of principle perhaps than out of the knowledge that the particular lust of both parties was doomed to go unrequited. We don't want a friend at Chase Manhattan. But as far as coveting a $1.7 million bank account is concerned, hell yes we do. We have no doubts what we would do with a war chest like this.

[ENTER RAMPARTS PROMISSORILY]

This year we went out on a limb here at RAMPARTS. We added a number of new writers to our pages. We did this because we are convinced that never since the beginning of the Vietnam era ten years ago has there been such an opportunity for hard-hitting and creative journalism on the Left. We don't need to tell you why: Watergate, oil, impeachment, and still more cracks in the American façade that will doubtless appear by the time you receive this letter.

There are many things we want to do: going after the kind of investigative stories the New York *Times* and the Washington *Post* refuse to cover; comprehensive analysis of crises foreign and domestic; concrete proposals for institutional change; expanded coverage of the women's movement; more thoughtful treatment of books and movies; more fiction and poetry — the list is endless. We intend to hammer out thorough, radical positions on major issues in America — education, crime and punishment, health care, transportation, taxation, government—the kinds of projects that have long distinguished RAMPARTS from the half dozen or so other Left journals in this country. Now we have the staff, but we can still use the money. And so we come to the request we've made before: for you to help us by renewing your subscription in advance.

By subscribing now, you will not only save money, but you'll also get a free hardcover copy of *The Book of Daniel* by E. L. Doctorow. *The Book of Daniel* is the most distinguished book we have ever offered. *Newsweek* called it "the best novel of the year." Writer Joyce Carol Oates reviewed it as "a nearly perfect work of art, a cause for rejoicing." *Daniel* is boldly political: its subject a fictionalized version of the Rosenberg case and the wave of anti-communist hysteria which swept America in the McCarthy years, seen in haunting flashbacks from the New Left America of the late 1960s.

Having asked for your money, we will close by asking for your ideas. Now with our revitalized staff we are more than ever eager to hear from readers about the directions you think the magazine should be taking, stories you liked, ideas for future articles. We can't always promise to answer, but we will circulate the letters among ourselves, and we do want to hear from you.

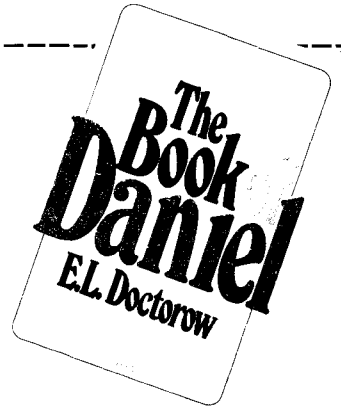
For the editors,

Patricia Thell

WE ARE ASKING our subscribers to help us out by renewing their subscriptions now — even if they are not due to expire. Others we simply urge to subscribe.

Send me *The Book of Daniel* and sign me up for:

- ☐ One year $ 8 ☐ New
- ☐ Two years $ 15 ☐ Renew
- ☐ Lifetime $100
- ☐ No book, please. I'll deduct $2 from the price of my subscription.



Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

☐ My check or money order enclosed in the amount of $.....

[If renewing, please include a recent address label. Canadian subscribers add 50 cents postage per year; other foreign subscribers add $1 per year.]

(Use the envelope provided, or send this to RAMPARTS, *2054 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94704.)*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SALE FABULOUS LITHOGRAPHS PRINTED 18"x24" ON ARTIST CANVAS

THE WORLD'S MOST BEAUTIFUL PAINTINGS MAGNIFICENTLY REPRODUCED IN AUTHENTIC COLORS DIRECTLY ON CANVAS FROM THE PUBLISHER WITH THREE GREAT WAYS TO ORDER.

261.PICASSO.DON QUIXOTE 271.VAN GOGH.STARRY NIGHT.

THE CANVAS PRINT. The look, feel and thrill of original art reproduced with a big 18"x24" image directly on 20"x26" textured artist canvas. Rolled and shipped to you in our sturdy fine art tube. A $15 value. Only — **$4.95**

THE MOUNTED PRINT. The canvas art is especially durable when permanently laminated to our sturdy mounting board. Measuring 18"x24" overall, the canvas print is ready to hang or simple to frame. Hanging tabs included for only **$7.95**

THE FRAMED PRINT. The Classic Gallery Frame is elegant in design and compliments any decor. It is constructed of solid wood, hand-finished in rich ebony, trimmed with a silver chrome insert and custom fitted to the mounted canvas print. All you do is hang it up and enjoy it. 19"x25"x1⅜" overall, the canvas print mounted and framed for only **$19.95**

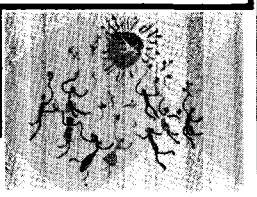
722.ROUSSEAU.VIRGIN FOREST.In cool,deep jungle shades of green,tan. black,yellow & blue.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

3.VAN GOGH.AVENUE OF ›PLARS. Important drawing in pia tones.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

247.PICASSO.BLUE.NUDE Pastel shades of blue,green, soft beige.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

312.PICASSO.PETITES FLEURS.Red,yellow,blue green.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

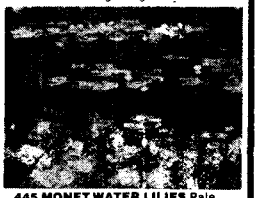
276.PICASSO.OLD GUITARIST.Shades of blue,greens and white.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**



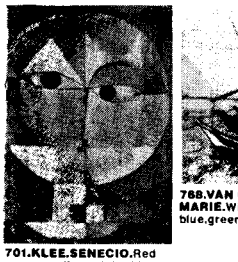
746.PICASSO.HOMAGE TO THE SUN.Lines in red,blue,green,yellow on pure white.Reg.$12. **Sale 4.95**

498.LAUTREC.JANE AVRIL.Red,black,beige,grey orange.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

769.RYER.LOVERS.Rich browns,flesh & golden yellows.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**



445.MONET.WATER LILIES.Pale violet,deep green and yellow ochre in restful hues of blue.Reg.$9.**Sale 4.95**



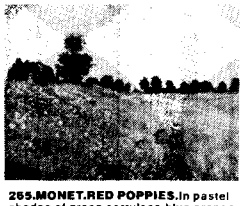
827.REMBRANDT.LION RESTING.Brown & black brushstrokes on beige.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

818.BRADLEY.PETITE FILLE.Red,gold,black, green.Reg.$13.**Sale 4.95**

212.VAN GOGH.SUNFLOWERS. Autumn tones of yellow.Reg.$12. **Sale 4.95**

875.WOOD.AMERICAN GOTHIC.Classic portrait in true colors.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

796.DEGAS.NUDE.Delicate drawing in chalk grey,black on pale yellow.Reg.$14.**Sale 4.95**

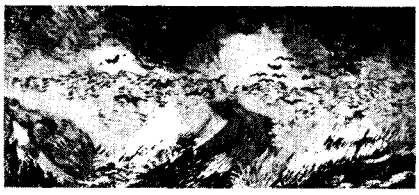


265.MONET.RED POPPIES.In pastel shades of green,cerrulean blue,orange white & pale yellow.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

852.MICHELANGELO.PERSIAN BOY.Subtle & mellow sepia.Reg.$10. **Sale 4.95**

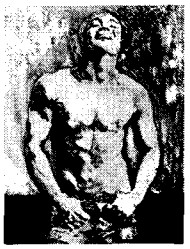
701.KLEE.SENECIO.Red orange,yellow, pink,white beige.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

768.VAN GOGH.BOATS AT SAINT MARIE.Windswept sunlit shades of gold, blue,green and brown.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**



838.VAN GOGH.CROWS OVER CORNFIELD.Stormy blue, gold,green,tan,white. 16 x33 .Reg.$25. Circle price to indicate preference. Flat **9.95** Mounted **14.95** Framed **24.95.**

209.PICASSO.MOTHER AND CHILD.A study for Maternite. Subtle sepia.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**



803.JOCK.Young,fresh, virile in springtime colors.Reg.$13.**Sale 4.95**

752.VAN GOGH.PEACH TREE.Gold,blue,pink & white.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

857.MONET.FIELDS IN SPRING Golden yellows,blues,greens,tan and soft beige.Reg.$15. **Sale 4.95**

871.DURER.THE HARE.Warm browns,gold,tan with a creme background.Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**

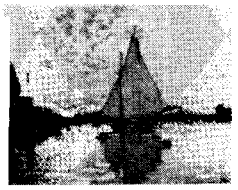
425.DITA:TIGER ON RED Amber,gold,tan,white,black & bright red.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

837.KLEE:YOUNG TREE. Soft crimson on delicate,pale pink,white.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

237.UNICORN IN CAPTIVITY.Tapestry of green,yellow,white.Reg.$9.**Sale 4.95**

176.DEGAS.GLASS OF AB-SINTH. Shades of tan,blue, brown,red.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

872.POTTHAST.A HOLIDAY.Sea blues & white with pink,orange & shades of tan Reg.$15.**Sale 4.95**



66.MONET.SAILING BOAT AT AR-ENTUEIL. Soft summer blue,yellow,red nd pale leaf green.Reg.$10.**Sale 4.95**

252.PICASSO.THREE MUSICIANS.Brown,black,red,purple white & tan.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

863.GOLTZIUS.TREES IN A WOOD.Pastel tones of blue,yellow & grey.Reg.$12.**Sale 4.95**

401.BOSCH.GARDEN OF EARTHLY DELIGHTS.Depicting the caprices,fallabilities & vices of man in symbolic form.Shades of red,green,blue,yellow,tan. 23 x35 .Reg.$20 Circle price to indicate preference. Flat **9.95** Mounted **14.95** Framed **24.95.**

LAMBERT STUDIOS DEPT. RA50

910 N. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, CA. 90069

Please indicate your preferences by circling the prices below.

Print #	Title	Flat	Mounted	Framed
		4.95	7.95	19.95
		4.95	7.95	19.95
		4.95	7.95	19.95
		4.95	7.95	19.95

POSTAGE AND HANDLING **PLEASE ADD 95¢ PER ORDER PLUS $1.00 PER ITEM FOR MOUNTED OR FRAMED PRINTS**

Total Items ..... Total Price ..... Total handling ..... Total applicable sales tax .....

I enclose ..... or charge my .. Amer Exprs .. Bank Amer ..... Mastr Chrg bank name .....

Account # .....

Expiration date .....

Signature .....

SEND 50¢ FOR OUR FULL COLOR CATALOGUE

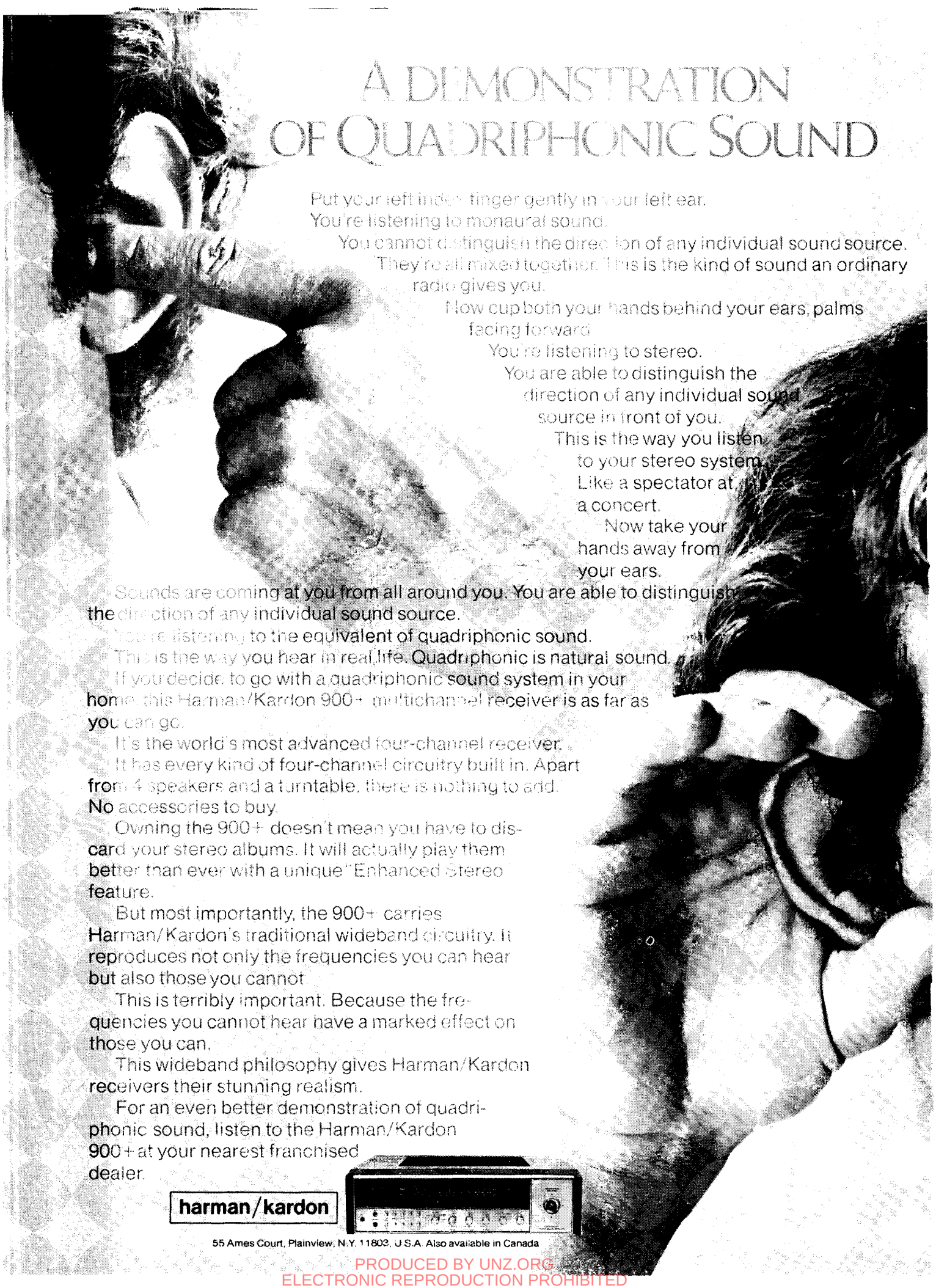
Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Wholesale Inquiries invited.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A DEMONSTRATION OF QUADRIPHONIC SOUND

Put your left index finger gently in your left ear.
You're listening to monaural sound.
You cannot distinguish the direction of any individual sound source.
They're all mixed together. This is the kind of sound an ordinary radio gives you.
Now cup both your hands behind your ears, palms facing forward.
You're listening to stereo.
You are able to distinguish the direction of any individual sound source in front of you.
This is the way you listen to your stereo system. Like a spectator at a concert.
Now take your hands away from your ears.
Sounds are coming at you from all around you. You are able to distinguish the direction of any individual sound source.
You're listening to the equivalent of quadriphonic sound.
This is the way you hear in real life. Quadriphonic is natural sound.

If you decide to go with a quadriphonic sound system in your home, this Harman/Kardon 900+ multichannel receiver is as far as you can go.

It's the world's most advanced four-channel receiver.

It has every kind of four-channel circuitry built in. Apart from 4 speakers and a turntable, there is nothing to add. No accessories to buy.

Owning the 900+ doesn't mean you have to discard your stereo albums. It will actually play them better than ever with a unique "Enhanced Stereo" feature.

But most importantly, the 900+ carries Harman/Kardon's traditional wideband circuitry. It reproduces not only the frequencies you can hear but also those you cannot.

This is terribly important. Because the frequencies you cannot hear have a marked effect on those you can.

This wideband philosophy gives Harman/Kardon receivers their stunning realism.

For an even better demonstration of quadriphonic sound, listen to the Harman/Kardon 900+ at your nearest franchised dealer.

harman/kardon

55 Ames Court, Plainview, N.Y. 11803. U.S.A. Also available in Canada

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED